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THE WOMAN INTELLECTUAL AND THE CHURCH

a symposium

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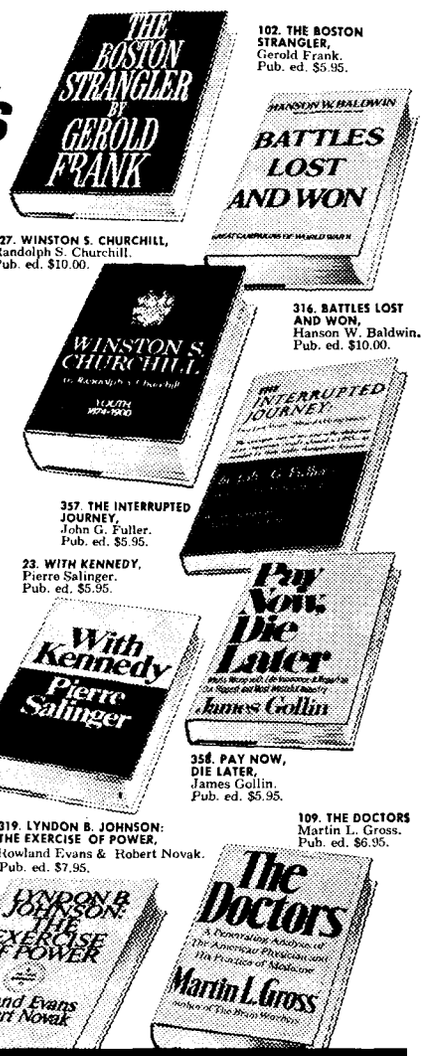
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NEWS AND VIEWS

Reader's Digest on Vietnam:

"One reason the morale of the American soldier is so high, especially in the combat zone, is perhaps because he scarcely has time to go in for philosophic speculations on the morality of the situation. . ."

•

In our January 6 issue, this column said: "Not one American bishop supported Pope Paul's call for an extension of the Vietnam holiday truce." This was not correct. By deadline time, Archbishop Dearden of Detroit had already come out for such an extension. After the item went to press, similar support for the Pope's plea came from Bishop Connare of Greensburg (Pa.) and Bishop O'Connor of Madison (Wisc.) and his auxiliary.

•

Father DePauw fights on: Last month the press carried reports that the Vatican had finally decided on the appeal of Father Gommar DePauw and ruled that he belonged to the Archdiocese of Baltimore. This would mean that his transfer from Baltimore to the Italian diocese of Tivoli—which enabled him to carry on his Catholic Traditionalist Movement without regard to the wishes of Baltimore's Cardinal Shehan—was officially discredited. But the CTM has produced a press release that the nullification announcement from Rome was itself null and void, and could be safely dismissed as an opinion by three unidentified consultors. Father DePauw intends to stay in New York to carry on his crusade against liturgical change and innovation in general.

•

Happy New Year: The Diocese of St. Petersburg, Fla., refused a Catholic burial to a stillborn baby girl, born to a priest (Anthony Girandola) who had married without Church permission. The baby had been baptized. Father Girandola wondered why the Church was striking at an innocent child in order to get at him. The Diocese cited the demand of "canon law and Church policy."

•

The January 4 *Wall Street Journal* reported a new kind of army surplus: over 200 obsolete Atlas and Titan I missiles. They are not available to gun clubs, however; most will be cut up into scrap and sold, at a loss to the government of about $4 billion. Why so many, obsolete so fast, and costing so much? The *Journal* explained: "The Atlas and the Titan I missiles were built and installed in 1959-62 when the U.S. was rushing to overcome the much-talked-of missile gap ('put that missile gap in quotes, please,' says a Pentagon official) and money was no object at all."

The missile gap, it turned out, wasn't really there. Something to think about now that Congress is ready to get worked up over an "anti-missile gap" and talk about spending billions for an ABM defense system which nuclear physicist Ralph Lapp calls the equivalent of the Maginot Line.

•

Minor publishing notes: Herder and Herder publishers have taken over distribution and promotion of *Continuum*, which heretofore has had more quality than audience . . . Charles Davis' last book as a Catholic was published in England late in December, and will be published here in the spring . . . *Ramparts* magazine is up for sale.

•

One of the most quoted lines in President Eisenhower's memoirs concerned the popularity of Ho Chi Minh: ". . . had elections been held as of the time of the fighting (1954), possibly 80 percent of the population would have voted for the Communist Ho Chi Minh as their leader rather than Chief of State Bao Dai."

In the current *Commentary*, Theodore Draper suggests that the sentence preceding that one in the Eisenhower memoirs now appears even more relevant: "I am convinced that the French could not win the war because the internal political situation in Vietnam, weak and confused, badly weakened their military situation."

•

Same problem, same solution: Senator John Stennis, chairman of the Armed Services Preparedness subcommittee, a conservative and a hawk, recently sent an investigatory team to Southeast Asia. Now he reports: "In spite of our gains, in spite of our increased forces, in spite of the improvements in our logistical situations, we are still confronted with essentially the same problems which existed twelve months ago, and are not significantly closer to bringing the war to a conclusion."

Mr. Stennis' reaction: we need more troops and more bombs—essentially the same arguments which existed twelve months ago.

•

As of January 11, more than $22 million has been withdrawn from Chase Manhattan and First National City banks as a protest against the loans of these banks to South Africa. The withdrawal campaign was organized by the Committee of Conscience Against Apartheid, under the chairmanship of A. Philip Randolph.

•

Random statistics (for the year 1965) from the new *Reader's Digest 1967 Almanac*: median income for American families is up five percent in one year to $6,882 (but the median for white families is $7,170, compared with $3,971 for non-whites); the income of 435,000 families crept up over the $3,000 mark for the first time (but 21.5 percent of non-white families are still below the poverty line); Americans spent $5.6 billion for religious *and* welfare activities (compared with $21 billion for tobacco and liquor).

JOHN LEO

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CORRESPONDENCE

Vietnam Policy

La Crosse, Wisc.

To the Editors: Concerning your recent announcement that we should get out of Vietnam forthwith after "making what arrangements we can for our allies" (December 23)—I would like to ask what arrangements you have in mind.

If we pull out the only safety for many people will be immediate flight. Do you have a destination in mind for them? In 1954 a million North Vietnamese fled to the South. Presumably now, with your suggested United States pull-out we would have to help most of these people go into exile again (where?) plus uncounted numbers of South Vietnamese.

I suggest *Commonweal* editors study the book, "Viet Cong" by Douglas Pike (M.I.T. Press, 1966).

Or—go to Vietnam for a while in some reportorial or other capacity. Please visit a hamlet after a V.C. mortar attack. Then I would like to hear what you have to say about the National Liberation Front.

WILLIAM B. GALLAGHER, M.D.

Princeton, N.J.

To the Editors: Our inexpressible emotions are not irrelevant in judging wars, and many wars have unique aspects which preclude sweeping philosophical generalizations. But, having admitted this, it still remains that the *Commonweal* editorial policy concerning Vietnam (Dec. 23) seems designed to defeat any philosophical analysis. For example, the tone of your recent editorial advising America point-blank to retire from Vietnam seems at first reading to be one of eminent fair-mindedness. But a troubling fact lies beneath the glossy tone of soul-searching honesty: a clear refusal to attempt to elucidate *general* criteria by which wars may be fought, and judged. One would even think an unconscious attempt is being made to disassociate the debate over Vietnam from traditional ethical discussion on war, as if you really did not believe your own claim not to be pacifists.

I say this only because the alternative

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RED GUARDS AND VIETNAM

What is going on in China? Well, it depends on what you read. To the Hearst press, it looks like a senseless, barbarian convulsion; *Time* readers have been assured that it is essentially a "naked struggle for personal power." Editorialists in the more liberal American newspapers tend to see a sharp swing toward radicalism, with an expectation of more bellicosity in China's foreign policies. Ross Terrill, writing last October in the *New Republic,* saw the internal dispute as a by-product of the Vietnam war—China expects to be attacked and is propelling the Army to the forefront to put the nation on a war basis. Joseph Levenson, writing in the *New York Review of Books,* agrees up to a point, but thinks the "cultural revolution" is an authentic one: the rebellion of cultural provincialism against the cool cosmopolitanism of the technological professionals is necessary to save the revolution. Others stress the pressure of the quarrel with Russia, or the leverage given dissenters by the string of Chinese foreign policy disasters in Africa and Asia. The lack of certainty about what is going on was summed up by a humorous article in the *New Republic* by the pseudonymous "Preston Duk" who analyzed grave shifts in U.S. policy the way our sinologists analyze China, and concluded that the simultaneous seating of Julian Bond by the Georgia Legislature and the acquittal of Sam Sheppard in Ohio cast a dark shadow across the future of U.S.-Chinese relations.

The fact is that we do not know enough about the uprisings in China to support any new policy decision. Even experts who agree about the general thrust of the current struggle disagree on what it portends ("Someone in China is prophesying war," one expert concluded, yet a colleague who praised the analysis claimed that chances of war have been reduced by China's preoccupation with internal matters). Watchful waiting may not be a brilliant policy, but it is the chief contribution the U.S. can make at the moment. And if, in fact, China's internal troubles have reduced Chinese pressure on North Vietnam, now is the time for a serious push toward the negotiations we have insisted upon.

Since China's imperialism and aggressiveness are taken for granted among

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most Americans, it may be useful to note at this time that her record is hardly one of total unrestraint. She has indulged herself in three foreign adventures under Communist rule—Tibet, India and Korea. The first two, tacitly endorsed by Chiang Kai-shek, involve ancient territorial disputes; the third involved a miscalculation by a U.S. force marching toward her borders. Like the U.S., she settled for the *status quo ante* in Korea. Unlike the U.S., she has not dispatched troops to bolster foreign supporters. She has declined to annex Hong Kong and Macao, despite a certain ideological pressure and logic. She has talked tough, but has generally been restrained when it came to foreign adventures. She has been a good deal more restrained about a 400,000 man U.S. army in Vietnam than most Americans would be about a comparable Chinese force, let us say, fighting on our Mexican border. It is not necessary to depict China as a particularly benign force; but it is necessary to understand that she does not deviate much from the ordinary and cautious power politics popular in the West. She is, in short, not the wild-eyed barbarian of Mr. Hearst's nightmares.

China's current distress should not tempt us into anything adventurous. The Chinese, according to the New York *Times*, have made clear to the United States that they will keep their troops out of Vietnam as long as neither North Vietnam nor China is invaded, and as long as the dikes of the North's Red River are not destroyed. If this is so, it means that the U.S. cannot blunder into another war with China by miscalculation: we know exactly where we stand. Regardless of what the turmoil in China really means, it must not be conceived as an invitation for further American military pressure. If the U.S. is to exploit the situation at all, it should be by de-fusing an explosive situation by de-escalating the war and suing for a just peace.

WEBSTER COLLEGE

Were there not so few surprises any longer possible in the Church today, the announcement by Sister Jacqueline Grennan that Webster College plans to become a secular institution would have come as one. Actually, it is a plan which makes considerable sense. There is a desperate need now to experiment with different forms of Catholic and Christian education, and at all levels. No doubt Sister Jacqueline does not look upon the change in Webster's status as just an "experiment," but others in the Church will inevitably look to the success of the "new" Webster as an indication of one possible direction for the future. Not only pressing financial problems, but many other more subtle problems have arisen for Catholic higher education. One way or the other, some significant changes are called for in the future.

Sister Jacqueline's initiative raises directly two of the most pressing problems: control of Catholic colleges and universities by religious orders, and, more broadly, control by Church authority. The first seems to us hardly troublesome at all. There is now ample evidence that total control by a religious order has, by and large, predominantly harmful effects. It sets a limit to the aspiration of lay faculty members, and to their actual influence; it also means that the internal policy of the university is subject to non-academic pressures—particularly pressures on religious orders emanating from Rome. Naturally, many religious orders are unlikely to be interested in divesting themselves of their control. Nonetheless, the pressures for them to do so are likely to become increasingly heavy as time goes on.

The second problem is much trickier. Sister Jacqueline has said that she believes "the nature of higher education is opposed to juridical control by the Church." It is hard to argue with her here, especially in light of the prevailing idea in Catholic higher education that both administration and faculty are subject to ecclesiastical authority. The recent dispute at the University of Dayton is symptomatic of the problem. After one faculty member accused some of his colleagues of teaching heresy, an investigation was undertaken to determine the truth of the charges. Subsequently, those charged were cleared of suspicion. But what if, hypothetically, they had been guilty? The implication of the very investigative process itself was that the teaching of heresy is a punishable offense in a Catholic college. But if this is so, then the phrase "academic freedom" as ordinarily used can have only a limited meaning in the Catholic university context; and this would be one clear fruit of "juridical control." As we said, it is hard to argue with Sister Jacqueline.

And yet we are left somewhat uneasy about such a conclusion. In the first place, most Catholic colleges will in the foreseeable future remain under "juridical control" of Church authority. What is to be done about their academic freedom? This is a problem which must be met, if only for the sake of all those who will teach and be taught in controlled colleges.

In the second place, a much deeper problem is raised. If it is assumed that full intellectual freedom is not possible in a controlled *college*, how is it any more possible for an individual Catholic who submits to the authority of the Church? In short, the old, old question: can a person be both a Catholic and an intellectual? Even a a totally lay-operated university could at some point run up against this problem. What if the local bishop, on pain of excommunication, forbade a lay faculty member to teach what the bishop considered an heretical position? Canonically speaking—so far as we can determine—a bishop would be well within his rights should he issue an order to a layman in his diocese. Removing a college as such from formal ecclesiastical control does not begin to touch this latter problem.

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Splitting over Adam: The Liberal-Negro Breach

The chief significance of Adam Clayton Powell's recent difficulties with Congress lies not in the state of the Congressman's personal fortunes or even in the constitutional question of whether the House may deny a district representation by its duly elected Congressman. What is most significant is the widening breach between liberal white Congressmen and Negro civil rights leaders.

Given even what one sociologist has termed the "mutual conning" between whites and Negroes which sometimes characterizes their joint participation in civil rights activities, the Powell case seems to offer more than its share of arcane motivation. On one side, the effort to trim Powell's legislative influence has been led by white liberals, many of whom have been in the forefront of the equal rights struggle. On the other, Powell's defense is now being championed by Negro leaders who have rarely in the past expressed enthusiasm for his generally lackluster record on civil rights and who, indeed, according to the private complaints of some House liberals, gave tacit consent by their silence to plans for disciplinary action against the Harlem Congressman at a time when counter-pressure would have considerably tempered such contemplated disciplinary action. Ironically, both sides seemed to have been forced by pressure from their constituencies into public stands which are not entirely to their private liking—the white liberal Congressmen by the unusual flow of anti-Powell mail at a time when white voters have just turned Pat Brown out of office and defeated New York City's Civilian Review Board; the Negro leaders by their underestimating of Powell's continuing folk-hero status in Harlem, by the Congressman's own talent for employing inverse racist arguments, and by the readiness of more strident Negro spokesmen to capitalize on any apparent failure in militancy by members of the old-guard establishment.

Clearly Powell's censurable behavior hardly approaches in gravity the misconduct of some other Congressmen who have escaped punitive action. Moreover, the empathic participation of Harlem voters in the Congressman's cool-cat misdeeds and audacious sallies against respectability is not without precedent in American politics. After all, Jimmy Walker made much the same appeal to New York's Irish voters and a large part of Catholic support for the late Senator McCarthy may be traced to emphathic participation in the Irish Catholic Senator's arrogant assault against such WASP representatives of respectability in the social order as Alger Hiss and Dean Acheson. Furthermore, the unseating of one of the most powerful Negro politicians in American history at the very time when a battery of editorialists are urging the Negro to temper his militancy is hardly likely to demonstrate that legislative action offers a viable alternative to mob action in the streets.

Just as clearly, there is little substance to the racist charge leveled against Congressmen who voted for disciplinary action against Powell; and proposals that Negro voters attempt to defeat liberal Congressmen, such as Emanuel Celler, who did not "actively try to save Mr. Powell," are inherently self-punishing. But if the proposal to blacklist Celler is disconcerting, the "us-them" diction of Celler's reply ("They can do what they wish. It's up to them. But they had better be careful, because their sword may be bent against themselves") is equally disturbing. It only further points up the central significance of the whole affair—the growing hostility between white liberals and Negro rights leaders.

One hopes that the "summit conference" of civil rights leaders called by A. Philip Randolph will devote itself not to schemes for revenge against liberal Congressmen who failed to support Powell but to means of healing this breach. The particular genius of Mr. Randolph has been in demonstrating that the civil rights struggle is not merely a struggle for Negro rights but a struggle involving the welfare and self-respect of all Americans. Just as he has pointed out the inseparable connection between the rights movement and legislation aimed at the eradication of poverty, so now, he could become the champion of a Congressional code of ethics and insist upon the ineluctable bond connecting both racial justice and Congressional probity to a sense of national self-respect.

FRANCIS E. KEARNS

As Berkeley Awaits Ronald Reagan

National press coverage of the recent Berkeley disturbances has not conveyed much about what is really going on. The depth and importance of the issues has proved elusive to reporters; so has a realistic estimate of campus support for the strikers' position.

The underlying dispute concerns the very shape of the educational process, and perhaps the nature of knowledge itself. The view that the university is a "knowledge factory" (in Clark Kerr's words) which produces on demand for the established social, moral, and economic organization, is pitted against the view that the present social order and its goals and methods of educating men for participation in the human community, are themselves open to question. In the latter view, the questioning of the present political and institutional set-up can take place only in the context of a new form of education.

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The central student demand that the university be governed with the consent of the governed, is a call that we be aware (responsible) and that we commit ourselves (consent). The four long-range goals of the Council of Campus Organizations can be seen as directed toward this end. Political advocacy by the members of the university as a normal university function and judicial review in regard to all disciplinary cases are essentially goals which would insure the continuing opportunity to question. Student and faculty control of educational policy formation, and the right of students, faculty, and employees to organize, are the minimal demands necessary for questioning to be effective, for long-range commitment to be possible.

The recent strike, resulting from the administration's calling of local police onto campus, must be seen in this context. The crudeness of the Berkeley administration's manipulation of these deeply-felt student concerns has made dialogue impossible. Because of this student frustration and because of the blunderings of the administration, minor disputes, such as those concerning the location of rallies and the Navy recruitment booth, act as catalysts to mobilize widespread student unrest. Even so, the broad context of such disputes should be clear to every open-minded observer. For example, here are the five demands of the strikers (which, to my knowledge, were *never* published in their entirety in any outside press coverage—above all, the last two long-standing, crucial demands were ignored):

1. That policemen never be called onto the campus to "solve" campus political problems. (Such action is entirely inappropriate in an academic community, dedicated to rational and aware problem-solving.)

2. That there be no disciplinary action taken now or in the future against participants . . . in the strike. (This demand was substantially endorsed 795 to 28 by the faculty, nevertheless Chancellor Heyns said that rule violations would be dealt with in the usual manner.)

3. That all off-campus individuals and non-commercial groups be granted at least the privileges enjoyed by governmental agencies. (In the past, the administration has expelled student leaders involved in political activity, and then has proclaimed an artificial student-non-student wall-of-separation, while at the same time permitting favored non-student organizations access to the campus.)

4. That University disciplinary hearings shall be open. That these hearings shall be bound by canons of due process . . . (Only this can end the atmosphere of fear and coercion and the need for amnesty demands in the case of future violations of rules.)

5. That negotations begin which will establish a system of just and effective student participation in the formulation of a new set of policies regulating student activity. . . . (Such a system is the only hope for calm and fair solutions to any future disputes and for a lasting peace on our campus.)

Contrary to published reports, these demands are neither those of a small minority of rabble-rousers or kooks, but of the great majority of conscientious, responsible university citizens. In an incredible demonstration of self-sacrifice before exams, up to 47% of the students stayed away from class *for the sake of* their education; 81% and 78% supported demands four and five respectively in a representative telephone poll of student opinion. Broadly based groups such as the student government, the official student newspaper, the Council of Campus Organizations, with its 40-odd member organizations, the Graduate Coordinating Committee, and an American Federation of Teachers labor union local, supported the strike.

The unity, indeed the sense of community, among the students on the Berkeley campus has never been greater. Yet never have our hopes led to more frustration. The faculty has wearied of the fight, and many want to retreat to their research. The administration has consolidated its power with the approval of the apathetic faculty and the encouragement of the Regents. The new governor, Ronald Reagan, is about to lead a crusade against us. And we have not been able to tell our story. Even sympathetic listeners are compelled to *see through* the distorted and simply wrong reporting found in the press and on television. We are alone and unarmed, except with our own solidarity and our just demands, against an adversary whose social, political, and financial power is gigantic.

No one believes that the fight between the two conceptions of the university is over. According to informed professors, the administration, backed by the new state government, is going to move swiftly to crush completely the student unrest that has characterized Berkeley for the last few years. In order to succeed, they will have to so decimate the ranks of students and faculty that the university will be destroyed. Somehow, they must be convinced not to try. RICHARD STITH

(Richard Stith, Harvard 1965, is a graduate student in political science at Berkeley.)

GOD

Commonweal for February 10th will be a special, enlarged issue devoted to contemporary perspectives on God. It will be the first in a series that will appear from time to time as special issues of the magazine under the title "*Commonweal Papers.*" The February 10th issue will feature articles by seven important philosophers and theologians: *James Collins* on God and contemporary philosophy; *Father David Burrell, CSC,* on naming God; *Father Bruce Vawter, CM,* on God and recent biblical research; *Louis Dupré* on God and history; *Leslie Dewart* on God and the "supernatural"; *Father John Dunne, CSC,* on God and Christ; and *Brother Gabriel Moran* on God and Revelation.

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ALL THINGS CONSIDERED

A DEAD ISSUE?

Issues come and go. One that has come and gone is the school issue, at least in the sense that it is definitely unfashionable to discuss the issue. Part of the reason for this was the masterly compromise enshrined in the Johnson school bill; for the time being, at least, Mr. Consensus has managed to damp down a once-explosive argument. Then too, Vatican II directed Catholic attention to larger and more pressing problems; many Catholic liberals were never keenly interested in the school-aid issue to begin with, and in the age of *aggiornamento* the question of public funds for church-related schools seems to them very old-hat indeed. Nonetheless, nagging problems remain, and what more appropriate place to discuss them than in an education issue?

Take the recent case in which the Maryland Court of Appeals ruled unconstitutional three state grants to church-related colleges, grants intended for construction of science buildings and dining halls. Originally the grants to four colleges were challenged: Western Maryland, affiliated with the Methodist Church; Hood College, affiliated with the United Church of Christ; Notre Dame of Maryland and St. Joseph College, both Roman Catholic institutions. In its decision, the court upheld funds for Hood College, because of the looseness of the school's ties to the United Church of Christ and the diversity of its faculty and student body. But the grants to the other colleges were denied. The College of Notre Dame, the court said, was "deeply and intensely religious" in outlook, "permeated" by the "Catholic way of life." As for St. Joseph College, that was ruled out for being "even more strongly religious than Notre Dame."

An editorial in *America* magazine suggested that part of the problem is that "Catholic schools have too often present themselves in terms suggesting that they are novitiates rather than institutions of learning." Without advocating secularization for the sake of government aid, *America* suggests that "the constitutions of many of the congregations that operate colleges make it hard for a judge to see how their schools can be anything other than instruments of religion." I don't doubt there is much truth in this point, and one that Catholic educators might well ponder. As Msgr. John Tracy Ellis remarked in *The Critic* recently, "a built-in danger to the structure of Catholic institutions . . . is to conduct colleges and universities as though their main business was to serve as citadels for the preservation of the faith, and not as centers for the cultivation of the intellect."

With all that said, however—and I agree with it heartily—the underlying issue still remains. This comes up in state after state, and I still cannot see how the First Amendment is violated by including religious colleges in state-aid programs. Some Catholics talk as if our opponents invented the no-establishment clause of the First Amendment just to plague us. I don't feel that way; there is a real problem. But I still think the no-establishment clause must be balanced with the freedom-of-exercise clause.

In a state like New York, for example, it is official policy to aid non-public colleges. This policy is based on pragmatic fact: about 60% of the state's students are educated in the non-public colleges. Since these institutions perform a vital public function, it is official policy to assist them. But one-third of these students are in religiously related schools. Should these institutions be excluded? Yes, says the strict separationist, and he will say it even if the aid goes directly to the student to help with his tuition; such aid, he says, would be indirect aid to religion and is banned by the Constitution.

I can't see it. This approach seems to me a doctrinaire, almost compulsive approach to the no-establishment clause which ignores the corresponding Constitutional safeguard for free exercise of religion.

The strict separationist claims that if my children attend a private college, they can get state aid—as long as that college is not operated under religious auspices. But what else is this but interference with the free exercise of religion? It does not meet the problem to say that my children are still free to attend any college they wish; in fact their freedom is diminished because if they choose a college with religion in the curriculum they—or I—would have to pay an economic penalty by foregoing any state aid. This whole question of religion, education and the Constitution is enormously complicated, and I grant that some religious people would run any good thing into the ground, but I cannot believe that the First Amendment requires the imposition of economic disabilities on those who prefer a religiously oriented school.

A striking contrast to the spirit of the Maryland decision was provided recently in Michigan. There the lower House gave a top-heavy 84-to-17 endorsement to a bill which would partly equalize tuition costs for those attending private and public colleges. Students at all 22 private, non-profit colleges in the state would be eligible for aid, religious or non-religious. As in New York, aid is based on the fact that the private colleges perform a public function and on the conviction that if aid is to be given, all deserve it on an equal basis. To me, this kind of reasoning makes sense, but the Supreme Court apparently does not agree; at least it recently refused a hearing in the case of the Maryland colleges, thus ensuring that they will not get any aid from the state.

JAMES O'GARA

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THE WOMAN INTELLECTUAL AND THE CHURCH

A *COMMONWEAL* SYMPOSIUM

This symposium was taped at the Commonweal *offices; each participant later had the opportunity to revise her remarks. Participants were Nancy Rambusch, Mary Daly, Rosemary Ruether and Sister Mary Aloysius, SSJ.*

Nancy Rambusch, supervisor of pre-school teacher training for the Mt. Vernon (N.Y.) Public Schools, is the author of Learning How to Learn *(Helicon).*

Mary Daly, who holds doctorates in philosophy and theology, taught philosophy seven years in Fribourg, and now teaches theology at Boston College.

Sister Mary Aloysius, SSJ, has done research in philosophical anthropology in Louvain and Paris. She teaches philosophy at Nazareth College, Kalamazoo, Mich.

Rosemary Ruether, who received her doctorate from the Claremont (Calif.) Graduate School of Religion, is teaching at Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Editor: The subject of this forum is "The Woman Intellectual in the Church." Does anyone here think that the very choice of this topic reflects the old view of women, and that it makes no sense at all to talk about women's role in the Church?

Daly: I think it makes a great deal of sense to talk about women and their problems in the Church, but I would reject the implication that intellectuals who are women have a "special role" as intellectuals because they are women. After all, no one would think of discussing "The Man Intellectual in the Church." I don't mean to suggest that there are not special problems, but the assumption that women should have "their own role as women" even in the intellectual life is a major cause of the problems.

Rambusch: One of the principal problems of women in the Church *is* their role definition. It is hard to get beyond this to the role of the woman intellectual or the role of the woman as intellectual, unless one deals with it. Sertillanges certainly didn't have the ladies in mind in writing *The Intellectual Life;* the Catholic rhetoric of femininity has separated the masculine "head" from the feminine "heart" in such a way as to make speculative women at least unladylike, at most androgynous.

Aloysius: Why not break out of role-categories altogether and speak rather of women as persons? After all, the wider question facing us today concerns the position within the Church of persons. Of course women do have a special problem, as a look at Church organization and policy amply attests. And I might add that women in the sisterhoods experience this problem more acutely perhaps than others, since—as the Glenmary predicament makes painfully clear—ecclesiastical structures and authorities generally assume they are minors in special need of fatherly rule and protection. Still, whatever our particular difficulties, I think it better to take a broader view of the problem and rest our case on the dignity and absolute value of personal being rather than on some special "role." In any case, if we take the term "role" in its usual sense, it seems to me too limiting to speak of a "role of women in the Church."

Daly: In fact, by perpetuating the sexual stereotypes —"head versus heart" and so on—the Church (among other institutions) has seriously discouraged girls from committing themselves to the professional and intellectual life. Many are damaged by this conditioning, and then, of course, the stunted specimens can be pointed to as "naturally feminine" and as evidence that the stereotypes are correct. The fiction is self-perpetuating.

Editor: As I travel around, I notice a lot of hostility among women toward discussions of the role of women

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"the stereotypes are disturbed when women are mothers, career women and intellectuals"

in the Church. The reaction of women often is: don't talk about us as women, but as laymen. Isn't something being lost by this overly rationalistic view? Women's experience, in fact, is different: as a minority group, as child bearer, as the result of Church prejudice. Shouldn't all this result in a different perspective among women?

Rambusch: But can we talk about women wholesale? We've got to talk retail, as we do about men. It's too diffuse otherwise. Whatever grain of truth there is, is lost by the accompanying distortions.

Aloysius: Then, too, if the climate is right—that is, if women are free to develop their personal capacities without cultural constraints—these presumed differences would get expressed without our being expressly concerned about them. But, of course, I'm supposing an ideal situation, one to work toward, certainly, but not one to act on as if it were here and now the case.

Rambusch: I think we have to cope here with an accepted binary life style for Catholic woman, either as consecrated virgin or mother of many children. Most women who have been living at variance with these roles have tended to do so underground. The stereotypes are seriously disturbed when women surface who are, at the same time, mothers, career women and intellectuals.

Ruether: I think there is probably a lot of that hanging on but, on the other hand, I tend to experience the opposite. Precisely in not falling into those roles, I am treated a little bit like the bright Negro or something. I get a little extra polish on the apple all the time.

Daly: I've found the same thing, but I've also found a kind of duplicity also. For example, at the university where I teach, women can teach in the College of Arts and Sciences and the university publicizes this, but at the same time women are not allowed to come as students in the College of Arts and Sciences. I think this reflects the unconscious hypocrisy of a society which erects barriers against certain classes of persons and then, when a few manage to break through those barriers, it pats them on the back and even points to these exceptional cases as evidence of its own "liberality."

Editor: Don't you have a special problem here? I think a comment by Wilfrid Sheed put it neatly. He said that a Negro on the march is something serious, but a woman on the march is merely cute. As a minority you have special problems and condescensions. What about that?

Rambusch: Yes, I think that's true, perhaps because what constitutes feminine protest has already been stereotyped under the guise of feminism. It is very difficult to protest in a new style.

Editor: If you're terribly gentle and quiet then this is the way women are supposed to be, but if you're very militant then you're a feminist. . .

Rambusch: Many women still feel (at least in their professional encounters) that acting in any way other than hyper-rationally—though men may be in hysterics all around one—leads to big trouble. There is a tendency for women to overfocus on rationality as proof that there is nothing impeding their ability to think clearly.

Aloysius: Isn't it true, though, that this tendency to overfocus on rationality has been generally characteristic of the western world? But from Hegel on—the young Hegel, anyway—we have seen an effort to broaden reason so as to include within it the "irrational," an effort which met with such notable success in a man like Freud. Today this effort to integrate feeling and imagination into a larger "reason" has made very great strides. On practically all sides, rationalism is in process of being repudiated. The Church, however, in its institutional aspects at least, has hardly been penetrated by these developments. We still find devotional writers and preachers repeating the old myth that women are so constructed as to "emote" rather than think, as if these operations were mutually exclusive and "emoting" were a defect of character. Some women believe this nonsense and thus fulfill the prophecy, whereas others may react, as you say, by an overfocus on rationality.

Ruether: This seems more common among an older generation of women. Typical of this is a woman professor I know. She got a Ph.D. back in the 20s and has a hyper-intellectual kind of tweed-suit Ph.D. style, typical of a person who really fought this battle back in the time when it was pretty hard to do anything. I think that it is easier for people to accept the fact of the woman intellectual if you don't shove it down their throat by preaching.

Daly: At the same time, I think that a period of "talking it out" is a necessary phase. There are many people, male and female, who are more or less conscious that the situation of women in relation to the Church is wrong, but the nature of the problems involved is not always clear to them. Since until recently there was a sort of taboo attached to discussion of the topic; even thinking itself was stifled. Free discussion is needed to bring out in people the courage to think for themselves and to assert themselves.

Editor: Mary, you studied in Europe a number of years. Did you find any different attitudes over there toward women intellectuals in the Church?

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Daly: It appears that generally the prejudices are generally greater and the women's self-images more passive. Of course it varies from country to country. Generally speaking, women are infinitely worse off in the Catholic countries than in the Protestant countries, and this is hardly by accident. Some studies of French sociologists (Andrée Michel and Genevieve Texier) have indicated that wherever the Catholic Church is the state religion or the dominant religion, the hierarchy has used pressure to keep women in their traditional situation of inferiority.

Rambusch: Don't you think we benefit in America from the erosion of the idea of masculine omniscience? Many intelligent people find this an insupportable burden.

Daly: Yes, of course. But many Europeans are afraid of this development. The myth of "the emasculated American male" reflects this fear. The underlying assumption of the myth is that "masculinity" requires open or disguised contempt for, and oppression of, the female. Since American girls are obviously more active and independent than their European counterparts, the conclusion is drawn that the American male is defective. Much of the European reaction is as crude as that.

Editor: Could we say a few words about Mariology? Has Mariology perpetrated submissiveness on the part of the Catholic woman?

Daly: This is an extremely important point. There is a widespread misuse of Marian symbolism. For example, Père Galot—a Jesuit theologian at the University of Louvain—has attempted to build up a whole "theology of woman" by analogies with Mary—as he imagines her to have been. The result of such wishful imaginings is an unrealistic and alienating theory of "Mary as the model of all women." The image, which is proposed as normative, is of course of a very passive and docile creature. I think it is important to remember that Marian devotion and Mariology have been promoted by a celibate clergy for the most part. The possibility that compensation mechanisms are involved here should not be overlooked. Nor should the possibility that some of the talk about Mary's subordinate role may reflect an unconscious hostility toward the other sex and a rejection of women as persons.

Ruether: The idealization of Mary goes very well with the contempt for the question of women too.

Rambusch: The definition of woman as either virgin or mother has given rise to a peculiar interpenetration of these roles in Catholic thinking. We praise motherhood as mysteriously virginal (drawing on Mary as *Theotokos*) and virginity as mysteriously maternal (in assigning the name "Mother" to religious women).

Aloysius: Wanting virginal mothers and motherly virgins may have something to do with a pessimistic view of embodiedness and sexuality. But this pessimism can no longer be defended, thanks to the great philosophic breakthrough of our time: the discovery of the body-subject as "condition of presence," not limitation or drag on spirit. In effect, we are now liberating a meaning of sexuality as person-creative, and an idealizing of virginity based on sexual pessimism simply can't stand up to it. Obviously, I'm not saying that valuing virginity always implies a negative valuation of sex. Not at all. Virginity has in fact everything to gain from this demystifying critique. This same sort of critique allows us to get at some very dubious functions of idealizing Mary and, through her, womankind—for example, such functions as: promoting an attitude of unquestioning submissiveness, masking a refusal to come to terms with women in their earthy, everyday reality, legitimating a decision to exclude women from full participation in the human enterprise by raising them to some "higher" place beyond "where the action is."

Editor: Do you think it's possible, Sister,—in light of the whole use of Mary as a presumed model—that there is a problem in the Church today about whether we can use anyone as a model? How do we go about selecting models? The problem of woman seems to have been beset in the past by looking through Scripture, or looking back through the history of the Church, to find some kind of model of what a woman is supposed to be. It turns out there are many models: there is the Joan of Arc model, there is the blessed Virgin model, there is the Deborah model. Are we bedeviled by models?

Aloysius: I agree that models raise questions today. For one thing, we're mightily impressed now by the person as a unique bearer of human being. As a "unique," the person really is irreplaceable, absolutely precious. But this isn't the old religion of "rugged individualism," and it isn't a celebration of eccentricity. In fact, it's just because we prize community so much that we prize personal style. Another thing: the contemporary attack on essence, where "essence" means something static and fixed, amounts to an attack on "models" insofar as they are something static and fixed. How speak of a "model" for an existent obliged to realize itself by free engagement in a historical situation that is unrepeatable, always open to a future full of contingence and surprise? So, given these developments, models could hardly not appear suspect.

"generally speaking, women are infinitely worse off in Catholic than in Protestant countries"

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"the use of Mary as model seems to be diminishing"

Ruether: The revolt against models is tied in with some of the hassle over the sister's garments. This is very true among the Immaculate Heart sisters. There was much hesitation over modernizing the habit. Many of the sisters seriously felt that the whole concept of "a habit" was designed to repress individuality, to repress personal style. Many in the order felt they should discuss the meaning of the habit, as such, before moving on to further modernization of the habit.

Aloysius: Of course, modernizing the habit is a good thing and should be done immediately. Still, it seems to me only an intermediate step. There are excellent reasons for putting into question the religious habit concept—for example, the meaning of clothing as "identity kit," the close connection between a uniform and the control of behavior, the perplexing questions raised by the whole secularizing process.

Daly: Gertrud von le Fort, who exercised so much influence, especially in Germany, in perpetuating the model of the "eternal feminine," bemoaned the fact that modern women are losing this ideal. I think that unwittingly she was suggesting the answer to the "model" problem—that is, if enough women who are creative can raise up their own images, the stereotype of the "eternal feminine" will be defeated.

Rambusch: This use of Mary as model seems to be diminishing, perhaps because women *are* more intent on creating their own images. If enough individual women do this, the hunt for the single model might cease. In Fellini's film, *Juliet of the Spirits,* the heroine typifies modern woman's dilemma in the Church. She is neither virgin nor mother but a childless married lady, and she is nowhere. The film centers on her inability to situate herself in life. Much spade work still needs to be done in order to create a climate in which a plurality of life styles, including that of the woman intellectual will find acceptance in institutionalized Catholic circles.

Ruether: The image of Mary is very fascinating historically. It's really not a simple kind of image at all. Over the course of the Church's history it has been adapted to many kinds of uses. At a very primitive level, she is much more earth mother than she is virgin. She really functions as *magna mater* on very simple peasant level of devotion. As such, she functions as a way of revolting against the male authority in having a little divine providence for the problems of the woman. In the middle ages, she was very much a figure which functioned to fill the gap between the increasing tendency to make Christ the righteous judge and to virtually ignore the role of Christ as redeemer and saviour. Mary stepped in for all practical purposes as the human nature of the redeemer. I recall a church which has a picture of Christ shooting arrows at sinners and the sinners are all gathered under the cloak of Mary. More recently it seems to me that official Mariology has made Mary a kind of myth and cult of the triumphalistic Church. She becomes very much the support of the old triumphalistic kind of ecclesiology.

Daly: But there may be much more to it than this. C. G. Jung has suggested that the use of the symbol of the Virgin has been an attempt to add a fourth and feminine element to the Trinitarian symbol, which is an over-masculinized symbol for God. So he was especially interested in the Assumption dogma as a psychological fact. It would be interesting to see how this line of psychological interpretation might relate to Mary as the triumphalistic Church. You are dealing here with a very complex web of images.

Editor: Someone once speculated that a great attraction of Mariology for many Catholics is the fact that, historically and biblically, there is very little known about her. This opens up a whole area in Roman Catholicism where one can create all sorts of fresh theologies and have a spiritual life much less under the auspices of the Church. It is much harder to do this with Christ; too much is known and that serves to check the kind of flights characteristic of Mariology.

Daly: The most alienating aspect of these imaginative flights occurs precisely in connection with the relation between Christ and Mary. There is often a half-explicit, semi-conscious identification of all men with Christ and of all women with Mary. Then an identification is made between the Christ-Mary relationship and the man-woman relationship. When this happens, women's hopelessly inferior position in the universe is assured—it appears to have the stamp of divine approval. Sometimes there is some recognition that this may be a bit off balance, and so we get the compensatory word-games—like "subordinate but not inferior," "equal but different," etc., etc.

Ruether: The most primitive woman image in Christian theology was "woman as Church," not "woman as Mary." Mary is really later and she takes over many of the images which were originally applied to the Church. This is very strange, because you have the whole concept of the bride which forms the Church. You get something very strange going on when "the mother" and "the bride" are all mixed up together.

Daly: The concept of "spiritual motherhood" was greatly favored by Pius XII. It seems to have served as

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a kind of bridge-idea in the ideological transition which was forced upon the Church by the emancipation movement. There is a thinly disguised biologism—which tries to bind women to the maternal role in all spheres. Few women seem to take it seriously—luckily—because it is harder to imagine a sicker self-image. I suspect that most people over ten years of age have a strong impulse to run the other way when they meet "spiritual mothers" —or "spiritual fathers," for that matter.

Aloysius: I would be inclined to say there are signs of a revolt among sisters. The notion of "spiritual motherhood" is still quite acceptable to many sisters, perhaps even most of them, and probably the number of sisters unwilling to take themselves as "bride of Christ" is relatively small. But on this point I would like to be wrong.

Daly: St. Jerome made a revealing remark. He said that when a women serves Christ she ceases to be a woman and should be called a man ("vir" in Latin). This remark crystallizes the attitude that everything that is fully human is masculine, and that a woman is somehow an anomaly. This is the fundamental problem that we have.

Editor: Someone has suggested that if all the various mysteries of male and female hormones are worked out, we might, in fact, discover that women are somehow psychologically different and do have a different perspective on the world. Erik Erikson, for instance, has argued that women have a sense of "inner space." But even if we discover some basic differences, one could still say, "well, so what? We can remake this: we don't have to be bound to our given psyches and to our hormones; we can chemically alter our hormones." What does this group feel about that viewpoint?

Daly: Eugenics will open up great possibilities in the future and will also pose serious problems. A great deal will depend upon attitudes concerning "nature"—this fallacy is at the core of the birth control mess. But is man simply a product of evolutionary forces, or is he called to create his own future? A radical Christian humanism would answer "yes" to the second alternative. I think many new and hard decisions lie ahead and a great deal is unclear, but at least one thing that should be clear to everyone by now is that medieval biological determinism will not prove enlightening when we seek a norm for these decisions.

Ruether: There is no doubt that on a physical level, men and women are different. But as you go on to the psychological and then to the intellectual level, the differences become less and less relevant. On the level, say, where a woman is doing a mathematical problem the differences simply disappear. It's meaningless whether it's a male or female body behind the mind working out the problem.

Rambusch: If it should turn out that there are unique styles of perceiving reality peculiar to women, this would constitute, at the very least, an enrichment or a complement to the way in which men look at things. That is not the way it is now. The norm is masculinity and what is not masculine is considered defective.

Editor: Could I return to my original question? *If* one found that there were real differences, would women have any moral obligation to recognize these differences? Would they be perfectly free, morally, to reshape their hormonal balance if they chose? Are we bound by our bodies in any respect?

Ruether: Well, that is really what is involved in birth control, isn't it? The official discussion has tried to confine birth control to the role of an emergency solution grudgingly allowed when the mother is bleeding to death with her 10th child, but in reality women want much more than that. Birth control surely represents the assertion of woman's right to modify her biological nature as such in order to release her other intellectual and cultural potential. Only with birth control can women break through that binary life style mentioned earlier and combine a moderated domestic role with intellectual and career interests. Stereotyped roles of women and refusal of birth control as a human right to women are thus closely interconnected and reinforce each other in the Catholic milieu.

Aloysius: You seem to be raising the question of the natural vs. the artificial. Is the norm the "natural"? I don't think so. There is nothing immoral about changing nature through art. On the contrary, human being is called to do just that. As I see it, what is normative is not the natural but the personal. Our transformations of the natural ought to respect the absolute value of the person and serve personal ends. In the present case, if I understand you rightly, the question is: are we morally free to change "character"? Before I answer that, I should say what I understand by "character." I take it here in the first person, my character as I live it. So taken, my character is never something that I see but is rather that from which I see the whole world of meanings and values. My character is the limiting condition, so to speak, of my experiencing. To return to the original question, then: are we morally free to change character? I think so, provided the change does not damage the capacity to participate in meanings and values; in fact, I should think the point of change would be to enhance this capacity.

"today there are signs of a revolt among sisters"

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"a Catholic woman can be considered aggressive by the mere fact of achievement"

Editor: Mrs. Rambusch, in your Montessori work have you been able to isolate any non-cultural differences between boys and girls?

Rambusch: Not up to now. American nursery schools, Montessori or otherwise, are certainly not culture-free. Expectations for behavior of three-year-old boys and girls are quite different. Boys are encouraged in constructional tasks and girls are rewarded for interest in housekeeping.

Daly: Studies have been made suggesting a correlation between passive self-images and ability in mathematics. Children who are encouraged to be aggressive seem to have rising IQ's and those who are encouraged to be passive, falling IQ's. Among women who, despite the imposition of passive self-images, have developed intellectual creativity and got Ph. D.'s, etc., there is often little productivity. There is reason to suspect that this is not entirely due to family burdens, but because of the enormous anxiety they experience as a result of being in conflict with the culture.

Rambusch: This is certainly the dilemma of the Catholic women's colleges. On the one hand, girls are encouraged to think themselves into exhaustion; on the other as soon as they marry, it is assumed they will check whatever is troublesome in their intellects at the altar, if it conflict with any conjugal commitment.

Editor: Let me play the villain for a minute. Many men think that the new voices of women, those women who are now speaking in the Church, seem awfully aggressive, and sometimes they mention some of *you* here as examples of aggressive new women. Do you think you're aggressive?

Rambusch: I like to think that I'm assertive rather than aggressive; Aggression is a word which inevitably evokes a negative response. A Catholic woman can be considered aggressive or assertive by the mere fact of having demonstrated achievement professionally or intellectually.

Aloysius: Perhaps one reason why men confuse assertion and aggression is that they are unused to assertive women in the Church. The psychologist, Abraham Maslow, cites a comparative study which suggests that Catholic women are low in self-esteem and high in their sense of security, whereas Jewish women are high in self-esteem and low in their sense of security. If there is a positive relation between self-esteem and assertiveness, we might have a clue as to why assertiveness isn't commonly a characteristic of Catholic women and how it is that, when they do assert themselves, they are regarded as aggressive. But, then, if women are sensitive to the indignity of their situation in a male-dominated Church, probably they are aggressive!

Daly: This is really an example of a use of a word with purely emotive rather than intellectual content. The expression is used of Negroes who try to get decent housing. Sister Mary Luke was called "pushy" by some of the clergy in Rome, for daring to suggest that the sisters should have some voice in the administrative bodies which govern their lives. Translated, what it all comes to is this: "Don't rock the boat."

Editor: One thing which strikes some is that the whole Church is moving out of its authoritarian period and the distaste for talking about a woman's "role" reflects a much broader move away from role-talk in general, with its connotation of set slots and niches for everybody. Do you see the movement of women as an expression of something much broader going on in the Church?

Daly: I see it as an expression of the prophetic principle. As less and less institutionalized structures stand less and less in the way, the situation of women will improve.

Ruether: When you begin to understand the Church as a real reciprocal community of service, one to another, rather than an objectification into static orders—those who consecrate, those who kneel, and so on—one's whole perspective changes.

Editor: How can one distinguish between the unhappy connotations of the word "role"—with its suggestion of limitation and stereotype—and the problem of having some kind of identity in the Church? Presumably we all need to have some sense of who we are as persons, what our particular job is, what our function is.

Rambusch: Isn't a narrow construction of the concept of "Church" productive of a narrow construction of "role"? If the "Church" were interpreted more broadly, then a plurality of roles might appear more feasible.

Daly: It is also a question of whether a role is something imposed or something that develops out of life and personal evolution. If I accept a role because it corresponds with my deepest abilities and inclinations, then there is no hardship imposed.

Ruether: We need to break down the ideological understanding of "role." We would get a much more functional and therefore flexible concept. In that way, we are quite willing to accept it—when it is flexible rather than ideological. This would mean a return to the Pauline idea of charisms; they are functions based upon personal talents and abilities.

Editor: Could I raise a more difficult problem here? Would a more flexible, person-centered understanding of Church roles cast some serious doubt on the very idea

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of taking permanent vows for life in a religious order? Such vows presumably close one to a radical change in self-definition and self-understanding.

Aloysius: As I see it, commitment to a virginal life is not at all equivalent to commitment to some role or other. There should be freedom enough within this commitment to move around, to change roles, to take the initiative and assume the responsibility of such changes. Of course, we need to effect fundamental reforms in order to realize a situation of such freedom and flexibility. Perhaps one major obstacle to these changes is a mistaken notion of obedience. We have oversimply equated obedience with that submission which is the opposite of autonomy and then gone on to identify "religious obedience" with submission to superiors. To insist on this meaning of obedience is a costly mistake, for the contemporary vindication of autonomy is a great gain which Christians shouldn't fail to appreciate. Whatever religious dedication means, it cannot mean living a life of alienation, a life of heteronomy rather than autonomy. In fact, however, the fundamental meaning of religious obedience is fidelity to the Word of God, a decision to follow wherever this Word leads us, with the awareness that it probably will lead us to radical changes in self-definition and self-understanding. And if, as we believe, this Word is liberating and creative of the person, then a life commitment to such obedience can hardly be opposed to personal life and values.

Ruether: There is something about making a commitment that is important. You do the same thing when you get married; you make a serious commitment. You don't simply fix yourself in some narrow way.

Editor: A number of social observers have suggested that much of the talk of "commitment" these days really masks a strong drive away from the idea. Many people, they say, do not like the idea of lifelong commitments to anything, as if the very need for self-fulfillment involves recognizing the possibility that one might want to change one's commitments. Is there a conflict between the ideas of commitment and self-fulfillment?

Daly: Isn't it possible that the idea of commitment is just now beginning to clarify itself? As it existed before it often wasn't truly "commitment" as much as a slavery to the social institutions. Perhaps now we are beginning to see that true commitment has to be in concord with my personal development.

Aloysius: I agree. It's critically important not to confuse commitment with slavery to structure and then conclude that commitment and self-fulfillment are at odds. There's another confusion, one that Marcel spoke to years ago, which leads to the same disastrous conclusion. The argument runs: How can I commit the person I will be 10 years from now if I can't be sure that I'll feel then as I do now? This sort of problem, Marcel points out, assumes that my life unfolds before me like a movie so that I have nothing to do with the person I'll be 10 years from now. Yet, am I wholly passive before my life? My freedom, it seems, is precisely the possibility of actively intervening, of keeping myself open to the person I commit myself to. For Marcel—and here, too, I think he is right—fully significant commitment is always interpersonal and its drama consists in the appeal-response dialectic of liberties. In any event, if self-fulfillment is essentially interpersonal, as I believe it is, then commitment and self-fulfillment, far from being at odds, belong together.

Daly: This will be self-defeating if I preclude the possibility that commitment itself may lead to its own apparent negation, or perhaps to a radical transformation. I suspect that the deeper the level of continuity, the greater the chance that it may appear "from outside" like discontinuity.

Ruether: I have a problem with existentialist theology, because I find the structure, for example, in Bultmann of both "the new being" and "the new creation" as a continual making yourself totally new an inadequate one. If I really follow that down to its most radical form, I find an annihilation of any continuity. The person becomes fragmented, new every minute. There is something here which has grasped one truth but in the process destroys many others.

Rambusch: Marriage is an institution which lends itself to interesting speculation along these lines. If one thinks of it as a social contract essentially designed for the nurture of children (an obvious emphasis) then, when the children are gone, the life style of the married people might be quite different from that presently envisaged as inevitable, Darby and Joan heading into the Florida sunset.

Aloysius: But defining marriage in terms of nurturing the offspring seems much too limiting. Today we see that sexual union is by no means limited to a procreative function. When it realizes its intention of uniting persons become present in their flesh each for the other, it engenders a "we." And this "we" is a new subjectivity. In fact, as a "we" which permits the partners to overcome their isolation and separateness, it is an intersubjective subjectivity. But, as Alphonse de Waelhens of Louvain points out, this new subjectivity is like any other—that is, it must constitute itself in a history. So, to become fully real,

"whatever religious dedication means, it cannot mean living a life of alienation"

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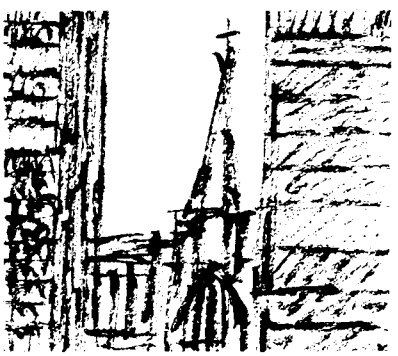
the "we" of sexual communion must return to the world, assume there a concrete history, work out in action and interaction its own destiny. Of course, de Waelhens is a phenomenologist and describes a sexual communion that realizes its human meaning and possibilities. Still, granting its ideality, this sort of analysis liberates fundamental meanings and indicates that, though the children grow up and go, the life-style of the partners is something else again.

Editor: Could we perhaps move this discussion a bit toward the institutional Church? Rosemary, you have written of the Church as "a happening" and have also suggested using the Freedom Movement as somehow a useful kind of model of what the Church might be. But this almost suggests the kind of thing you were complaining about in Bultmann.



Ruether: It's the same thing you see. Bultmann really has very little concept of community. He tends to focus on preaching structure, but in terms of the "new being" he tends to talk about this in a very individualistic way. Bonhoeffer is much more a theologian who applies this whole structure of theology to a communal existence rather than a personal existence. I have been of course pursuing this line of thinking for awhile and in the process of pursuing it I see problems raised. Here I think Gabriel Vahanian is helpful because he stresses the interchange between what might be called the eschatological principle and the Incarnation principle. You express the encounter and it really hasn't come to earth and become meaningful until it's expressed by words, concepts, communal and institutional structures. This is the incarnational thing but then you outlive it and the structures become bad, become a holding back of the new possibilities. So there is a kind of interchange between these two functions rather than an opting for one or the other.

Editor: In this tension, how important is continuity with the past? Does the Church have any obligations to its own past or is it simply open to the eschaton all the time? What is the relationship here?

Daly: I don't think it makes sense to speak of an "obligation to the past." You can learn from the past, but obligation is to existing persons. "Obligation to the past" suggests the essential sin of authoritarian institutions, which is putting organizations above people.

Ruether: There is a certain sense in which a real breaking of the bonds of the past, and opening to the new possibilities, also allows you to recover the past with a more authentic objectivity. There is something in the closed structure which makes the past, for all practical purposes, identical with the final. It finalizes the specific cultural incarnation and this tends to give you a mythological past. You can no longer encounter your own real past any more than you can encounter your own real present or future. You're apt to falsify the past in order to make it that absolute standard. Breaking down the bondage to the past can give you a very authentic carrying on of your own real past. You get the past back.

Aloysius: What you say reminds me of Martin Heidegger's distinction between the past as we ordinarily think of it, that is, as finished, as a "now" which once was and is no more—the "present-past," he calls it—and the past that continues in the present: in Heidegger's terms, "the past-present." In this latter sense, the past isn't something distinct from us; it's what we have been and somehow still are. For example, my childhood is not something simply past; it's still present, not just because I have memories of it, but because it lives on in me and has a good deal to do with what I am now.What is especially interesting, I think, is Heidegger's further point that the past-present, this recuperation of the past not as dead but as living in the present, comes to us from the future. It is in terms of the future we are preparing that the past-present becomes available to us.

Editor: Would you say that the category of "the future" is becoming very crucial in Christianity today? When we were talking about the problem of women, we were talking about what we hope women will become.

Aloysius: It seems to me all-important that the future should become the crucial temporal dimension for Christianity today. When, as now, change is incredibly accelerated so that a radically new world—urban, automated, electronic—is on the horizon, everything depends on our ability to discern possibilities and promises. What distresses me about our "updating" efforts is their generally backward look. Too often Church leaders seem intent on fighting battles that are already yesterday's battles. I don't mean to imply that projecting the future means rejecting the past. Not at all. But Heidegger's profound point is that we avoid mechanically repeating

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the past, that we appropriate the past as living reality, only in coming to terms with the future. Paradoxically, perhaps, it's the future that engenders the past.

Ruether: Perhaps the self is continually reappropriated. This is one of the great stresses of the post-Bultmannians. The past exists in terms of its meaning for us. As an ancient historian I'm aware that you rewrite ancient history. Ancient history probably has a longer tradition of being rewritten than any other period of history. We've been doing this since Herodotus. This same period of history is rewritten by every generation. Every generation appropriates it anew in terms of its own situation.

Editor: Is the past there just to do with in any way which suits our present and future purposes?

Ruether: I don't think the past can be just anything you want it to be. But there is a constantly new appropriation of its meaning. I think the historical consciousness itself is new and revolutionary; we're still trying to catch up to that and Catholicism particularly is a latecomer.

Aloysius: I wonder whether it is possible to say that "Catholicism" has arrived at this historical consciousness, even lately. No doubt there are those within the Church—Fr. Schillebeeckx would include the majority of the Council Fathers among them—who see that a static conception of truth is finished and that we can no longer claim to know as God knows. Still, the historical character of truth, with all its far-reaching implications, has not yet been unequivocally or officially or collectively recognized in the Church.

Daly: My own impression is that Teilhard was right in saying that there is a basic division between those for whom the world is moving and those for whom the world is standing still. But I think most of us today have an existential awareness of change—which implies that nothing at all is clear and definite. It requires a robust psychic structure to welcome this liberating but awesome revelation. Many are hiding out, mentally, hoping that it will go away.

Ruether: In ancient history there is an interesting parallel between the breakdown of the great cultural synthesis of the ancient world and its transfiguration into Christianity. When Christianity arose it was during a moment of great eschatological expectation and not merely in the Judeo-Christian tradition, but also in Greek philosophy. This emerges in the moments of the breakdown of the old incarnations, so to speak. This kind of thinking arises in moments of cultural crisis and change; we're in that kind of moment again. Our period of history is very similar.

Editor: Is the problem of Christian self-identity at this particular juncture of history a very difficult one for many?

Aloysius: Yes, I think so. After all, the world is no longer the medieval city where everything was ordered by and for Christians. Today in a post-Christian world Christians seem to have lost their distinctness and to have become like all the others. It's a difficult time. Social reality doesn't tell us who we are, and we have lost so many of the old supports and securities. Not, of course, that I'm mourning the end of "christendom" or the de-tribalizing of Christians. This identity-crisis is of the sort that comes with "coming of age."

Rambusch: Life in a temporal context is a practical problem. What does one tell one's children right now? They deserve a full measure of ambivalence because of what Christian faith in our time confronts. Yet, they are reared in institutional arrangements (notably parochial schools) which rarely reflect in any way the kind of thinking we are talking about.

Aloysius: Institutions, I suppose, are not inclined to acknowledge, much less encourage, the disorderly and ambiguous. It's a real problem because, as you suggest, we can't go on confusing faith and certitude. We live in a world of ambiguity, doubt, and upheaval; our religious institutions seem centuries away. In this respect, religious congregations find themselves in a fix: we fear that we won't hold together under the stress of rapid and radical change, the sort that's needed; yet, as long as we maintain patterns high in detail and fixity, we encourage people to join us who need a haven, the very people who won't be able to function in the sort of world taking shape under our eyes.

Daly: There is a great breakdown between clergy and religious—and most pious laymen—on the one hand, and the intellectuals and student generation on the other. Some of the former who are considered quite radical by their peers have in fact confined their openness to certain rather "safe" areas. It doesn't take students long to sniff this out, and then the reaction of disillusionment is often very strong. Selective openness is seen to mask "more of the same."

Rambusch: Won't we see many kinds of experimental communities emerging out of this?

Ruether: There is a real kind of gathered church or covenanted church idea emerging among Catholics. They want to break out of the parish and create some kind of gathered community. I know of one such group in Washington now who have, in effect, an underground parish.

"Christians seem to have lost their distinctiveness"

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"there is little attempt to examine parochial structures, with a view to revivifying them"

They travel here and there for Mass. They are creating a covenant church. These people are actually out to destroy the parish. They want to eventually build their own church outside of the structural parish.

Editor: But doesn't this raise the problem of everybody creating his own private church? Can you really have any sense of community if you have people breaking off from each other to set up little congenial enclaves?

Ruether: I raised this problem with one of the people I mentioned. I told one member of the group I would rather go to a parish than travel with their underground, because I am tired of the in-group, and also tired of living on tears and alienation. She was really quite mad at me, partly because I was threatening her new identity. She said that they intended to actually have a house and get a church so that we won't just be an in-group, but will have a real presence in the community—we're going to start functioning in such a way as to make our movement much more open. It was a very funny kind of thing, where they were trying to compensate for this in-group aspect.

Rambusch: Part of the problem is the rejection of the existing structure and the attempt to create a cottage-industry religious experience. But there is something else. How far has the extraterritorial parish been seriously explored from the institutional side, in order to create a different kind of parochial involvement? There has been very little "give," even in the inner city. The in-groups claim that they find no communication possible within a parish structure which is fundamentally inorganic. Yet there is little attempt being made to examine parochial structures, with a view to revivifying them, from the side of the hierarchy.

Editor: Isn't the problem not only how to develop new structures to care for new needs but also to teach the Church how to live with itself? That is, to teach the liberal and conservative Catholic how to worship together, how to talk together? To teach the educated and uneducated to communicate?

Rambusch: To teach all arts of persuasion! This means rendering the official structure malleable enough to allow this to happen. Such an effort would be naive were it to come solely from the lay people, the disaffected. It must come from the hierarchy as well.

Ruether: I should add, in defense of these groups I mentioned, that they are going at it in a fairly sophisticated way. They want to create options of community and not just be an in-group. They are a big enough group to have a good deal of cross section of different kinds of people. They are all people who are dedicated to a freer liturgy. Some of their leaders were actually banned from the sanctuary of their parish churches, because they were pressing for the use of a freer liturgy. For all practical purposes they were thrown out of the parish and had nothing else to do but create their own group.

Aloysius: That's the problem, isn't it? There's not yet enough room in the Church for a healthy diversity of worship and thought. In fact, divisions seem to be hardening. Communication occurs within, but not often across, these divisions. I mean real communication, of course, not some parody of it.

Rambusch: Isn't it partly a feedback problem? What goes on within the various in-groups or sub-communities is not fed back to the "official" church; both groups therefore are institutionalizing alienation.

Ruether: It was a minority group in the Church which established a monolithic tone. This drove the others into non-communication.

Editor: Is part of the problem, too, that the standard American Catholic liberal world is likely to have a monopoly on the articulate people? As in American politics there are no articulate conservatives. The conservatives have power, but the liberals have the big voice. There is a problem right there. Part of the problem also may be that the conservatives don't really want to talk. If you talk at all—they seem to imply—you are admitting the existence of the problems; and that's to give away half the battle right away to the liberal side.

Daly: I would, however, be nasty enough to suggest that the "standard Catholic liberal" is actually conservative. Insofar as liberalism implies intellectuality, it excludes standardization. It has nothing to do with mindlessly accepting the latest fashion in ideas. I find that those who are thinking are rapidly going beyond the popular preoccupation with personalities and institutional forms.

Aloysius: What goes on in the ordinary parish church can hardly speak to a sophisticated generation like ours. We are, as Paul Ricoeur somewhere says, children of critique and psychoanalysis. A naive, simplistic religion will no longer do. If we are to become simple believers again, our simplicity will have to be, in Ricoeur's words, a "second naiveté," one which has traversed the purifying criticism of such masters of suspicion as Marx, Nietzsche, and Freud.

Ruether: I recall talking once to a group I thought—from the tenor of the discussion—to be inter-denominational. To my surprise I discovered that practically everybody there was Catholic. The hostility to the institutional structure was very strong. In effect, they were saying that this Church has nothing to do with the Gospel; we don't

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even want to have anything to do with it. That was the prevailing tone of the students' attitude. I should add that this discussion was at Howard University and many were Negro, but there were also a number of students from the surrounding Catholic colleges.

Daly: I think that this suggests that many have gone beyond the institutional problems; there is a question of unbelief. They are breaking through to a deeper level of questioning.

Editor: There has been a debate recently as to whether there is a real problem of unbelief rising in the Church or whether it is only a problem with the institutional Church. I take it some of you here think there is a real unbelief problem coming.

Daly: Yes, there is unbelief in relation to traditional expressions of dogma. I doubt, though, that it is a decline of genuine religiousness. Those who are most religious often tend to do the most rejecting. They walk into a parish church and hear absurd sermons, see the ridiculous literature in the back of the church and they see a lot of things going on which defy their intelligence. They recall their religious education, and feel that they have been duped and brainwashed. They have reached a new level of awareness and intellectual integrity, and it appears to them that Catholic theologians—even the so-called progressive theologians who have a sophisticated "knowledge about" contemporary thought—do not themselves existentially share in the twentieth-century consciousness. No matter how erudite a man may be, if he talks and writes as if he believes in fairy tales, something is wrong. The question of the meaning and role of myth and symbol has not been faced.

Ruether: There definitely is no interest in any doctrine about the supernatural; it is only in terms of human values, if you can talk about it only as "human values."

Daly: But there is terrific interest in the problem of God, and trying to make some sense of why people ever spoke of these dogmas. A bright lawyer comes to a discussion group and asks what he is supposed to do, mentally, with something like the Assumption. A theologian with five degrees then quickly demonstrates his own inability to communicate with a twentieth century mind . . . End of discussion.

Ruether: A great part of the problem is that we are stuck at the pre-critical level, especially in the biblical field. This is what I have discovered in all the talks I have given recently. As long as I talk about the institutional Church I'm staying on safe ground. But as soon as I get into the biblical criticism, which I assume from my training, then the whole basis of discussion gets incredibly radicalized. That's when people feel threatened—when I suggest in talks, for instance, that there was, in the most early church, among Jesus and the apostles, an expectation of the end which really excluded any notion of founding a historical Church. The whole discussion becomes radicalized as soon as you introduce the new biblical position.

Daly: When Hans Küng spoke in the U.S. recently, he was talking safely within a sociological context. This approach is popular, but it has serious limitations. Many are no longer listening.

Ruether: In fact, practically all the official spokesmen, even Hans Küng for the left, create a very moderate kind of criticism and then introduce a more radical criticism in the footnote by quoting, say, Karl Barth. There is a kind of duplicity going on.

Editor: Do you think there is a possibility, as some believe, that somehow reform of the Church will solve the problem of unbelief? Could this kind of expectation actually be a way of evading a problem of God?

Rambusch: This presupposes that there are people willing to live in a state of suspended animation while this reformation occurs; this is precisely what many young people seem unwilling to do. They are not going to sit around to see whether reform in the Church will solve their problems about God.

Daly: Many students won't even read Catholic theologians anymore. They feel they only get the party line, with some liberal ideas thrown in. They would rather read Protestant theologians, who are less prone to play politics with ideas in order to appear "orthodox."

Aloysius: We pay dearly for repressive controls on theological thinking. And this problem of a narrowly conceived and repressively maintained "orthodoxy" has also something to do with the hostility toward critique found generally in the Church today. Hardly anything is so suspect as criticism. In this atmosphere, I wonder how we can possibly cope with the really radical questions.

Ruether: I don't see how we can bridge the communication gap, especially when you see how wide it is getting. When the conservatives are so far away from somebody like Küng, and you have a whole radical group which doesn't care what Küng says, then the gap between the two poles becomes almost unbridgeable. I engaged in a long correspondence with one prominent liberal theologian about a book I finished writing. I wanted his criticism of my ideas. His whole response seemed to be that while what I had said was right, the time wasn't ripe yet—we must wait and we must seek approval. He had a kind of therapeutic approach: You couldn't tell all the truth yet

"if a man talks and writes as if he believes in fairy tales, something is wrong"

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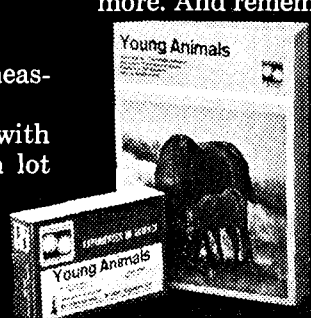

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"young people today couldn't care less about institutional games or claims for immutable truth"

because you must treat the Church as though it was a neurotic and thus carefully pace your therapy to the climate. He thinks this will work; but I feel to say "not yet" is another way of saying "never."

Editor: His approach is very institutional. Couldn't one say that part of the conflict between generations, or between those who have radical problems and those who don't, involves their respective willingness to play politics with problems. The radicals say "we are no longer going to play *any* institutional games," i.e., taking a careful, wary approach, with much thought given to tactics. The radicals seem to be saying that we have to lay all our cards on the table *now*.

Daly: The problem with the "institutional games" is that we are reaching the stage at which they are self-defeating. They exist partly because of the assumption that the Church always had all of the "immutable truth," and couldn't make a mistake, and they are played in order to save face when changes occur. But young people today couldn't care less about claims for immutable truth. They see value on the side of change and growth, and they admire a person who has the intellectual integrity to admit that he has made a mistake. Inevitably, they are beginning to see through the institutional games, and this means that the theologians are seen as lacking in intellectual honesty and integrity. The games may serve as a sort of emergency glue which gives an appearance of continuity with the past, but anyone can see the cracks. So then you get the strong simplistic reactions from people who aren't interested in the theologians' predicament. The reactions are partly due to a lack of historical sense and of sense of complexity, but it is also true that theologians often box themselves in unnecessarily.

Ruether: I think that is where the style of the radical Catholic and the Negro radical are very similar. They are both fighting an entrenched institutional problem; and they've come to the end of their rope with politics. At the same time, they've become almost eschatological and apocalyptic. You get this at a certain left-wing phase, which I can't quite see either, so I'm kind of torn between the two.

Aloysius: A radicalism that won't play at all begins to look petulant, childish. And yet the radical has a problem. What he wants to put in question is the system itself; to consent to play within the system is, in appearance anyway, to accept it and its rules. Now, I think it's true that a refusal to play the institutional game can have the effect of giving visibility to a radically different and better order of things—as, for example, in certain cases of non-violent resistance. So refusal is clearly not all of a piece. We need to distinguish a refusal which, though radical, is nonetheless affirmative from a refusal that is simply and only refusal. This latter is perhaps mere bad temper or, if "serious" enough, despair.

Ruether: The kind of radicalism which I am talking about—which I've seen first of all in the Civil Rights Movement and now see in the Church context, is certainly self-defeating because it is unwilling to fight the thing through. It is the Kingdom of God or nothing. It is unwilling to come to terms with historical ambiguity.

Rambusch: I think we will see more and more young people uninterested in intramural, institutional Church disputes. They will simply get out. More and more, young women seem ready to opt out on the "role" problem. They will affirm themselves outside the old categories as best they can. In the process, they will fashion new categories, systematically rejecting the possibility of refashioning the abandoned ones.

Ruether: The only hope I see is for a real free church style that operates out beyond denominational categories and which tends to gather around areas of concern, and in that context to do various things. For example, some of us in Washington had a peace vigil at an Episcopal Church. There was tremendously good music and speeches, culminating in an agape concelebrated by Protestant, Episcopal and Catholic priests. This was a kind of free Eucharist in a community celebrating around a concern completely beyond interest in the traditional structures which supposedly divided them from living with each other. I don't know what kind of future this kind of thing has, but I've been involved in it in the past couple of years. There is developing a church style which has no interest in traditional institutions at all, but rather celebrates around a community of concern.

Daly: We may have a paradoxical situation developing, in that this very disinterest will have the effect of re-shaping institutional structures. This kind of thing could prod the Church into moving forward.

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THE STAGE

The parentage is bad on both sides. Let B.B.C. humor be dad. Comfy, good taste, good sense. Little songs about *animals*. Trials of everyday life—parking the car and all that. Gentle satire. Chatty patter. Never transcends the bounds of *you* know. Then university humor can be mother. Little classical allusions—a snapper about Archimedes and his bath water, for instance. Bouncy tunes and doggerel words. Juxtaposition of popular names: L.S.D. and L.B.J.; "Swann here is England's answer to the Singing Nun." Etc., etc.

One should know by now that there is no material so unpromising that some damn fool can't come along and make art out of it. Jane Austen, P.G. Wodehouse, J.F. Powers—all the great touch-artists whose only excuse is perfection. Flanders and Swann belong to this line. They have taken the staples of English middle-brow humor, the stuff that has bored and stupified generations unborn and that leaks like gas through bed-sitters and semi-detached cottages, and made a beautiful thing of it.

Devotees of hairy, punitive satire can only shake their heads in despair. "At the Drop of Another Hat" is really too light and mild to be called satire at all, in the current stern use of the word: it is pure humor. Flanders sits in his wheelchair and throws away more funny lines than most comics ever amass (his talk is thick with puns and unlikely references, so you have to listen closely and curb your giggles). Swann sits at the piano and plays funny music. All in all, a great show, aimed at the lobe that enjoys water colors, French pastry, chamber music—a lobe which seems to be missing, or puritanically repressed, in a good many people at the moment. *(At the Booth)*

Harold Pinter's new play, "The Homecoming" may very well be his best so far. The master of the non-sequitur cliché has found a subject worthy of his method. The play is a nightmare on the general theme of homecoming. A son comes home from America to England with his newish wife. What does the family expect of him, and him of them? Well, for one thing, they want him to hand over the wife, as a souvenir acquired abroad. Then he may leave, if he wishes.

This strikes the son as quite reasonable. One must make sacrifices for the sake of family life. The wife, too, can see that this is part and parcel of homecoming—her own expropriation by the family—and demands only certain concessions to comfort and dignity, and economic status. A girl must look out for herself these days. It is not quite clear at the end who is expropriating whom.

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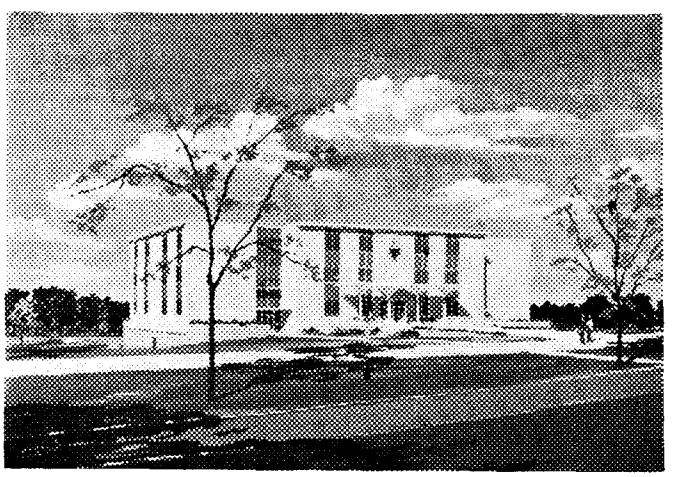
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These and many other ideas are stitched together in Pinter crazy-quilt. The two outstanding features of modern life—its banality and its grotesquerie — are juxtaposed without comment in Pinter, as they are in the yellow press. People are capable of talking and thinking in clichés and of performing acts of quite perverse originality, all on the same page. The girl who has bored and appalled you with the drabness of her mind suggests an act of exotic indecency; you, who have matched her commonplace for commonplace, agree to it, without missing a beat. You are now Pinter-people.

Pinter causes a lot of headaches by being at once so real and so unreal. All the ingredients are the sober truth, but the mixture is so strange. People do talk like that in real life and they do act like that, but surely not at the same time? Would they really interrupt a crime of passion to bring you this cliché?

Pinter leaves out all the links between speech and action, speech and speech, so that each sentence seems to be an isolated, contextless phenomenon. Yet each Pinter character always knows exactly what the other Pinter character is driving at: their clichés form a code which they have cracked and we have not: yet which speaks to us too in some curious way. Perhaps our language is the code and what they are saying is what we really mean when we talk. Perhaps our life is the fiction.

Among post-war English playwrights, Harold Pinter stands forth as an artist among pamphleteers; and he gets many effects in "The Homecoming" that cannot be imprisoned in a schema. There is no substitute for seeing this one. The cast, drawn from the Royal Shakespeare Company, is extraordinary—Paul Rogers, Ian Holm and Terence Rigby each provide what would normally be the performance of the season. And Donald Hall's direction must be just about perfect. *(At the Music Box)*

This will be my last appearance in this space. It's been a pleasure. *(Closed at* Commonweal*)* WILFRID SHEED

TOM, TOM, THE PEEPER'S SON

THE SCREEN

Now that anything goes in movies, we can expect to get anything. And we do, especially from abroad (although Hollywood has a way of putting over a fast one every now and then too). A batch of recent imports, however, go out of their way to be sexually explicit. Where all this will end, nobody knows. But it is certainly to be hoped that the inevitable revolt won't lead to a reversion to Victorian prudery.

Neither censorship nor protest seem to be the answer,

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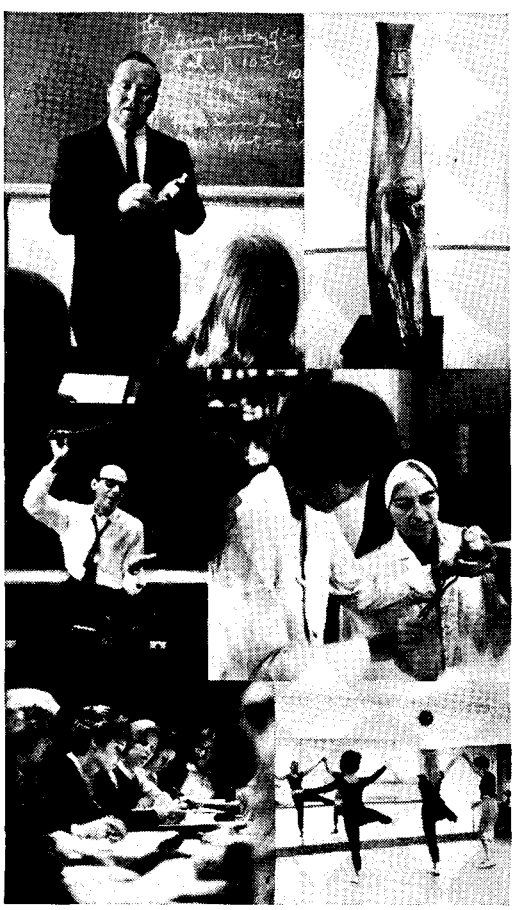
as was made clear with "Night Games," the Swedish film that was denied public showing at the Venice Film Festival and protested vigorously by Shirley Temple, who resigned as a director of the San Francisco Film Festival when it was included in the program. Since legal pornography is difficult to define, one cannot be sure of Miss Temple's allegation that "the film merely utilizes pornography for profit." But one can be sure about the profit after all this publicity. "Night Games" is a shocker, one can be certain. It goes farther in its depiction of eroticism and corruption than other movies of this kind, and one has a right not to take director Mai Zetterling's sincerity and good intentions for granted.

The plot and main theme of "Night Games" are rather old-hat and obvious: an impotent young man returns with his fiancée to the old family estate and in going through a remembrance of things past relives the boyhood events that led to his sick psychological state. Miss Zetterling spares no sensibilities in portraying the boy's lascivious mother (played by Ingrid Thulin) and her decadent friends in a series of sexual scenes so frank that one wonders that the parents of Master Jorgen Lindstrom would let him play the boy's role. One is not surprised that the man this boy becomes should be impotent; but one is surprised that a handsomely-made film like this should have gone so far in elaborating on the simplest kind of grammar-school Freudianism. The finale shows the man presumably cured after blowing up the old family manse. This is probably called instant psychotherapy, but I'm sure it would take more than an explosion and that revolting scene in which he vomits to cure this poor mother-smothered fellow.

From Denmark comes "Eric Soya's '17' " which describes a teenager's sexual excursions during one summer. One begins to get the impression from "Night Games" and this movie and several other examples that the Scandinavians are not only obsessed with the subject but are also happy to show what life at home is like. No doubt the film's odd title comes from its distributors' wanting to make clear that it is based on a novel by Eric Soya and is not to be confused with the Tarkington opus or *Seventeen* magazine. It is a far cry from either of those items in Americana in its vivid scenes of the boy's fumbling experiments with girls, in the frank dialogue about masturbation, and in its nonchalant attitude about gathering bed partners wherever ye may. From the moral point of view, this beautifully color-photographed Danish film is more insidious than "Night Games," in which the sexual activity is most unattractive. "17" depicts its delights and never manages a hint of morality.

The new Roger Vadim movie has a moral all right, but it goes into such detail with bedroom scenes and nudity in



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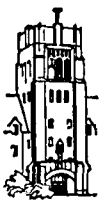

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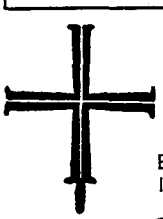

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and out of the bedrooms that its conclusion, as with so many crime-does-not-pay movies, seems like something just tacked on at the end. "The Game Is Over," a modernized version of Zola's *La Curee,* tells the story of a young wife (Jane Fonda) who seduces her stepson (Peter McEnery) and is made to pay and pay by her middle-aged husband. While this French film has some lovely color photography, this is hardly enough to make the silly story acceptable, or make us even care about the shallow characters.

The Greeks have come up with an item called "Young Aphrodites" and —I guess you might say it is just that. It's meant to be a retelling of the Daphnis and Chloe legend, but it is so confused in its visualization of this sad tale that nothing much comes through except some fine shots of the scenery on Rhodes and the attempt at love-making by a good-looking boy and girl. Perhaps if director Nikos Koundouros had stuck to the original story without the interference of an older love-making couple, he might have come up with an interesting film fable. What he has now is mainly another exercise in voyeurism—and there's already too much of that on our screens.

PHILIP T. HARTUNG

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SISTER M. JUDINE, I.H.M.

CHIAROSCURO

(at the grave of an artist-nun)

Where late the spring rains pledged
the earth to quicken,
A twilight thus obscures the fleeting boast:
To guard the marble whiteness of
your fortress,
Imperious snow-touched pines take up their post.

Above you we have etched the curt appraisal
Of your identity:
Your name and years.

What regal, cryptic signs on your escutcheon
Do you construe today to your compeers?

Faith limned in daily armageddons?
Hope graved from fragile forms of fear?
Love etched with fire-flanged rays, the symbol
Fusing the Wheat and Vine you cherished here?

Allied with you, the dusk-like shadows deepen.
An Attic calm maintains—an occult air:
Your secrets shrouded in a hundred Hemlocks . . .
The light and dark: are they one radiance *there*?

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BOOKS

The grim myths of automation

The Myths of Automation
CHARLES E. SILBERMAN
Harper & Row, $4.95

THOMAS R. BROOKS

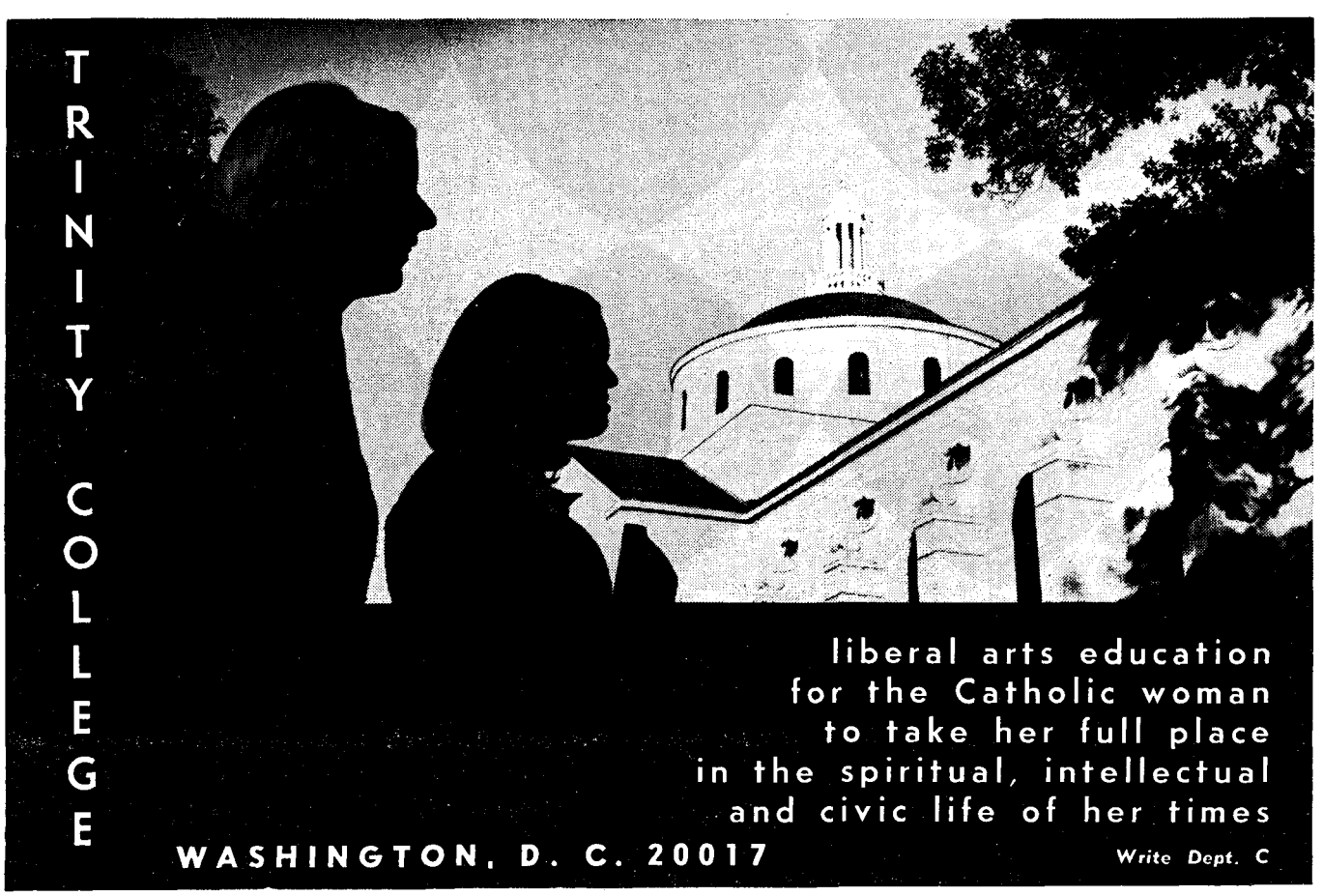
Charles E. Silberman, together with the editors of *Fortune* set out in this brief book to destroy what he calls the "grim myths of automation." He does indeed succeed in knocking down some errors, chiefly in the department of overstatement. He tracks down several examples of the horrors of automation cited by "doomsayers" and exposes the exaggerated claims. He also reaffirms the economic truism: "In the short run, the rate of economic growth determines the industrial and occupational distribution of the jobs that are available as well as their total number."

Silberman's whole case, in short, rests on the recent upswing in employment that on the surface at least gives short shrift to the predictions of a few years back that automation was creating mass unemployment. Silberman, however, ignores the impact on employment of the boom created by Vietnam-war profiteering.

He makes much of the present shortage of blue collar factory workers, forgetting that the factory work force has been aging. Some of the encouraging upturn in factory employment stems from the depletion of the pool created by government training made available during World War II's manpower crisis. This explains, incidently, business interest in the war on poverty which depreciates participation by the poor as against job training.

At the close of his key chapter attacking the myths of automation, Silberman gives the game away in one of the great throw-away lines of modern journalism: "Sooner or later, of course, we shall have the technical capability to substitute machines for men in most of the functions that men now perform." That "of course" is beautiful. It's worth the price of the book. The reader, however, should not linger overlong, for the nut meat lies in the next sentence or two. The decision to automate, writes Silberman, "would still be an investment decision—not a scientific decision." (Very good that. Safe in the hands of hard-headed businessmen, we are in no danger of falling into the hands of Dr. Frankenstein.)

At any one point in time, Silberman continues, "business may choose between a wide variety of combinations of capital



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and labor. Their choice is affected very strongly by the relative costs of capital and labor . . . men will not be replaced by machines because widespread substitution of machines for men would tend to reduce the price of the latter and increase the price of the former. . . ." We're back to Economics A and Silberman slips us within the folds of the oldest of business myths—that automation creates jobs.

Silberman isn't all that blatant; he concedes that automation may hurt. "If one focuses on a single industry," he writes in an aside, "or a single plant, or a single process within a plant, he can *always* find rather frightening evidence of technological unemployment." But then he falls back to reassure the reader with the oldest cliche in the businessman's speaker's handbook—the observer who sees no hand at the wheel of production a *hundred years ago*, or some such kicker.

Yes, one must concede the record has been impressive: "For the last 150 years of constant technological change, with only rare exceptions, such as in the 1930s, capital and labor have managed to combine in the United States so as to keep 95 percent or more of the labor force employed." But one must also reckon the social costs which are not entered on either Silberman's nor *Fortune's* balance sheet.

Silberman obviously believes automation a good thing. "The result," he writes, "is to enlarge rather than to restrict the sphere of human action and choice—to make it possible, if you will, for steelworkers to vacation in Europe or Hawaii, or even Miami Beach." I take it from the tone of the sentence that this is what passes for daring when *Fortune* speaks to its readers. Yet, you know, it's a Big Deal, Charley, this Miami Beach.

The decisions that count are about the uses of automation not the uses of leisure. The latter are personal; the former, social. Machines may free us or enslave us and do so to the degree that all of us are someway involved in the decisions governing their use. Automation makes industrial democracy imperative. Collective bargaining, which the editors of *Fortune* approve in their benign wisdom, has barely broached this particular frontier. When auto workers, as an instance, walk out to protest the manufacture of unsafe cars, i.e., become engaged about the quality of their work as they are now concerned about working conditions, then we will know that workingmen are not only asserting their rights but are also becoming involved in decision-making with clout.

The potential in automation for enlarging the sphere of human action and choice is great. It is also unsettling. Consider the emotion centered on "management prerogatives" when workers ask that they be consulted about work assignments and plans for future automation. Yet, Silberman works hard to reassure—we need not fear automation; businessmen can live with the current labor shortage; if you think teenagers are a problem, thank God that it's not their mothers and fathers who are out of work; the war on poverty really can't succeed in creating participation by the poor; there is no need for such proposals,

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since A. Philip Randolph's multi-billion dollar Freedom Budget for economic growth will solve all our problems; and so on. *Fortune's* view of the world has always been a sophisticated Panglossianism and Silberman is no exception on its staff.

In the end, as economist Robert L. Heilbroner points out in a discussion of automation in the quarterly, *The Public Interest*, "as machines continue to invade society, duplicating greater and greater numbers of social tasks, it is human labor itself—at least, as we now think of 'labor'—that is gradually rendered redundant. The underworld of economic thought, where wish and fantasy often take the place of thought and fact, is nonetheless right in its basic premonitions. The machine does challenge man, mechanical energies do replace human energies. The question is—and it is not too early to ask it, even though the answers be only visions of the future—for what are they to be realeased?"

The reader had best heed Heilbroner and let Silberman slide.

The Temper of Our Time

ERIC HOFFER

Harper & Row, $3.95

MAURICE R. BERUBE

Eric Hoffer defies categorization. He is a longshoreman who has romantic notions of the "masses," yet his devastating and unconventional essay, *The True Believer*, published over fifteen years ago, decried the politics of the mass. Although a conservative who finds an "aura of grandeur about the dull routine of maintenance," he can be equally lethal on the mindless hucksterism of capitalism. And as if to symbolize these ambivalances, his life-long preoccupation with revolution is wedded to a style reminiscent of the seventeenth-century essay.

The Temper of Our Times—by addressing itself primarily to national issues——helps to clarify some of these amibiguities. *The True Believer* appeared as a post-morten on ideology, when radicalism in America seemed dead and in the context of cold war politics the book easily became a bestseller. But the rumors of the demise of ideology proved exaggerated. Hoffer now confronts the Negro revolution and the new radicalism and focuses on his own visceral beliefs concerning the promise of life in America. The result is a collage of flashing intuitions exhibited in what may be the finest example of the essay over the assay. And it makes *The Temper of Our Time* immensely readable, provocative and frequently infuriating.

The book is a jeremiad. Hoffer assails both the mood and thrust of the Negro revolution, automation and the rise of a leisure class, the emergence of the intellectual as a type—and the very tempo of political and social upheaval. For Hoffer, the temper of our times is an unwarranted impatience.

Like other romantics, his psychological tools conduce more to the intuitive than the discursive. The trouble with the psychological approach is that it falls down badly in explicating external brute fact. Consider, for example, Hoffer's description of the Negro's predicament:

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HARLEM: TURMOIL IN THE SCHOOLS

by Jeremy Larner, which makes, we think, a major contribution toward understanding what is happening in the urban ghetto schools. This article transcends special pleading or agitational simplicities; it is written with care, complexity and insight; it "tells things as they are."

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The editors of *DISSENT*

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"As things are now, the Negro is what the white man says he is—knows himself only by white hearsay. . . . To annul the white hearsay and be what he chooses to be the Negro must become his own playwright, stage his own play, and cast himself in a role of his own choosing."

This is essentially what Stokely Carmichael is saying and one suspects there is a private consensus of Negro opinion to this effect. But Hoffer elevates this partial insight into a universal. The main barrier to the Negro, Hoffer generalizes, is the Negro himself: " . . . the Negro's aversion to or perhaps incapacity for, a self-starting, do-it-yourself way of life makes it questionable whether he can ever attain freedom and respect." But, the very non-psychological state of affairs is that the white community has not only historically created a Negro caste *but continues to try to maintain* that separate and unjust arrangement.

Still, Hoffer cannot suppress a wistfulness for past mass movements. There is a touch of bitterness in his proposition that America has the assimilative capacity to devour its own revolutions so that Puritanism in the end became merely a "forcing house of successful capitalists" and American Communism turned into a "preparatory school for successful real-estate dealers." To a romantic the lost revolutions are always the best ones.

In Hoffer's schema all revolutions possess their own betrayers: those stereotypical villians, the intellectuals. It is no accident, he argues, that "betrayed" revolutions in underdeveloped and communist bloc nations have regimes of school masters more tyrannical in politics than they could ever be in classrooms. In Hoffer's world no one could be more alienated from the "masses" than the intellectual.

As critic of contemporary America Hoffer is frequently off target. The polarization of intellectuals and the "masses" seems more fiction than fact; more likely than not the factory worker and the university professor belong to the same political party, sharing common political preferences if not cultural ones.

But what is more crucial is Hoffer's inability to empathize either with the left-outs at home or with the majority of colored poor in the world. Although there is an aspect of Hoffer as a revolutionary *manqué*, he becomes the intelectual spokesman for his own newly affluent laboring class absorbed into the mainstream of American capitalist society. Perhaps that is why—despite his deep love of freedom for the individual and his hatred of collectivism—he has never symbolized for a New Right what Paul Goodman has for a New Left.

History of Christian Worship

RICHARD M. SPIELMANN

The Seabury Press, $4.95

Liturgy and Art

H. A. REINHOLD

Harper and Row, $3.95

R. KEVIN SEASOLTZ

Richard M. Spielmann has sought to produce a popular history of Christian liturgy which could profitably be read by layman and clergyman alike, giving an account of the structure of Christian worship from New Testament times to the present. He traces the changing liturgical patterns from the house services of the first century through the Reformation and the emergence of the Anglican, Lutheran, Free, and Reformed liturgies down to the contemporary experiments in liturgical renewal. There is no doubt that such a work could be very useful, but unfortunately Dr. Spielmann's book is so seriously marred by gross generalizations and historical inaccuracies that one would have preferred no book to one so wretchedly executed.

Any reader who is familiar with the reserved historical analysis of Jungmann, Massey Shepherd, Klauser, and Van Dijk is uncomfortably jarred as he watches Dr. Spielmann gallop over centuries of liturgical history with little apparent awareness of the complicated terrain. One is tempted to say that a matter so complicated as the history of Western liturgy defies popularization.

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It is not surprising that the author has failed in the space of such a short book, but it is disconcerting that he is not more familiar with the representative works which he recommends to his readers in his own bibliography.

It is impossible in so short a review to indicate all the passages which jarred the present writer; a sampling will be sufficient. On pp. 34-35, Dr. Spielmann asserts that the early Church emphasized action, not words, in her worship. There is little evidence for such a statement. Certainly the description of the Sunday service in the *Didache*, the account of the Sunday Eucharist in Justin's *First Apology*, and the text of the liturgy in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus indicate the prominent place of prayer and reading in the primitive celebrations.

To resolve the question of how the celebrant came to offer the Eucharist with his back to the people by appealing to the cultic separation of clergy and laity (p. 47) is much too facile a solution to a question which continues to baffle even the best of liturgiologists.

In dealing with the question of liturgical language on p. 48, Dr. Spielmann maintains that the Western Church was Latin in language and thought by the third century. Again he is at variance with the recognized scholars. Greek sepulchral inscriptions in Rome still appeared in the fourth century. Marius Victorinus, an African who was converted in Rome about 355, wrote his *Adversus Arianos* in Latin, but in the treatise he quotes a passage of the Roman canon in Greek. Most scholars are of the opinion that the Greek liturgical language in Rome was not officially abandoned and Latin was not introduced into the Roman canon of the Mass until sometime between 360 and 382.

In spite of the trend toward uniformity and the efforts at liturgical reform under Gregory VII, the Roman rite did not displace the local rites used in various parts of Europe by the year 1100, as is stated on p. 50. Milan, Lyons, Salisbury, York, Hereford and several other dioceses continued to use their proper rites. In fact, a number of dioceses even claimed exemption from Pius V's Bull of 1570 which insisted that the Roman missal be the standard in every church of the Roman rite.

On p. 52, the author asserts that Pope Gregory I, in an effort to shorten the eucharistic service on weekdays, deleted the deacon's intercessory prayers and simply had the congregation sing the *Kyrie* response. The actual reason given by Gregory in a letter to Bishop John of Syracuse is that the people may have more time to linger on the *Kyrie* and *Christe* invocations.

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REVIEWERS

THOMAS R. BROOKS is a former labor editor who frequently contributes to the *New York Times Sunday Magazine*.

MAURICE R. BERUBE is assistant editor of *The United Teacher*, which is published by the United Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

FATHER R. KEVIN SEASOLTZ, O.S.B., is the author of *The House of God* and *The New Liturgy* (Herder and Herder).

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On page 96, the author maintains that in 1954 Pius XII made the first change in the Latin Mass of the Roman rite by allowing the epistle and gospel to be read in the vernacular. No such permission was granted until 1959 when the Holy Office give the Episcopal Conference of Fulda an indult to proclaim in the vernacular the epistle and gospel, after the proclamation in Latin.

The chapters on the Reformation and the Protestant liturgies after the Reformation indicate that the author is more familiar with this period of liturgical history. However, he would have rendered a greater service to his readers had he concerned himself more with the form and theology of Protestant worship during this period and less with the checkered history of the English and American Prayer Books. In the concluding chapter dealing with Christian worship today, there are a number of worthwhile insights into the role of worship in the ecumenical movement and the problems to be faced by liturgists in our contemporary society. Unfortunately, these reflections do not redeem the book.

One naturally expects a more satisfying work in H. A. Reinhold's *Liturgy and Art,* For the past forty years a leader in the liturgical movement, the author has written widely on sacred art and architecture. In the present volume, published in the *Religious Perspectives* series, Father Reinhold offers a swift-moving discussion of the development of liturgy, the role of symbolism and mystery, liturgical prayer, the prevalence of religious *kitsch*, the relation of liturgical art to other forms of religious art, and the prospect of new forms that may accompany the liturgical renewal.

The author rightly insists on the symbolic nature of the liturgy which consequently shuns naturalistic copying. If the liturgy itself is the celebration of the mystery of Christ, the arts which are associated with the liturgy must give symbolic expression to the mystery of Christ. That mystery is both incarnational and eschatological in its thrust. The artistic examples cited by Father Reinhold, above all the Church-Virgin of Pruefening, the altarpiece of the Cathedral of Basle, and the empty throne from the triumphal arch of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, give a striking expression to the eschatological character of the Christian mystery so clearly stressed in *Lumen Gentium*. Unfortunately they do not give adequate expression to the incarnational dimension of the Church's life, the dimension stressed in the Consituation on the Church in the Modern World.

In the liturgy, the Church celebrates and proclaims the fact that Christians are missioned, sent in the footsteps of Christ to preach the gospel to all men. In other words the Church does not simply look back to the past events in the life of Christ; she does not rest securely now that Christ's victory over death has been won, but rather she looks forward to Christ who is always out in front of his Church urging his members to follow him. The Incarnation is of its very essence a mystery of involvement in the world. Until Christ comes in the Parousia, Christians are sent to help the world recognize and accept Christ who has already come in his Incarnation. The Christian liturgy which celebrates the mystery of Christ has of necessity past, present, and future dimensions. Only that art which expresses these dimensions may be called truly liturgical.

As Father Reinhold points out, the renewed appreciation of the liturgy which has resulted from the Second Vatican Council will inevitably result in fresh symbolic expressions. *Kitsch* and allegory will most probably decline in the face of art forms which are contemporary and yet faithful to the demands of the liturgy.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 441)

would be to conclude that you were offering your arguments on the American presence in Vietnam as having a more universal relevance, a conclusion which I doubt you would wish to be made. Or would you think it generally valid to have the morality of a particular war judged in terms of a warring nation's previous contributions to underdeveloped coun-

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tries, so that the war must end when it begins to cost more than charity was willing to shoulder? Such a criterion appears for the foolishness it is when we apply it to Britain in 1940, for she could hardly have justified the cost of the Dunkirk evacuation fleet on that basis. The same irrelevance attaches to the often reiterated mention of the number of troops and bombs employed in this war, compared to other, carefully selected American wars, and to the length of the war. These "arguments" are frankly aimed, I suspect, at the feelings in us all of revulsion to war. But they do not advance thought or truth—and perhaps they even hinder peace.

The real heart of the problem is carefully sidestepped in your editorial policy—and yet it is one that has engaged philosophical minds for many years—namely, the proportion of a nation's population which may be sacrificed for intangible values. This same editorial—in its only point of relevance—notes rightly that we by our presence may end by killing more Vietnamese than the Communists could possibly liquidate afterwards for political reasons. Is, then, death the sole criterion? But if other criteria for continuing a war are to be brought in, *Commonweal* must face the unappetizing task of determining clearly where it stands on fighting for intangibles, and more or less exactly at what percentage point of deaths these wars, too, may become useless. Perhaps an impossible question, but never an irrelevant one.

DAN SULLIVAN

Notre Dame, Ind.

To the Editors: The remarks which follow are not really expressions of dissent from some recent *Commonweal* statements about war, peace and Vietnam but comments on sources of concern. Inevitably they reflect the experience of my generation which is certainly not contemporary with that of the editors.

What characterized my generation was profound and continuing dismay over the erosion of human rights. It was forced to witness for a long while, with bitter awareness of its impotence, the slow but implacable march to doom of millions of Jews as well as that ever mounting fury of the assault of Christianity which Benedicta Maria Kempner's book (*Priester vor Hitlers Tribunalen*) so movingly describes. Nor were these by any means all. The suppression of liberties under Fascism and the never-ending brutality of Stalin, continuing long after Stalin's time—these also are parts of the somber story.

It seemed to us that an indictment had been drawn up which could never again be forgotten or ignored. But does it really live within the consciousness of the present time? Whom does it keep awake? How many read, for instance, the diaries of Mauriac, Green and Haecker rich though these are in terms of Christian and specifically Catholic testimony? At any rate there arises a grave question: can human rights be defended in the final analysis without recourse to force? To me the answer seems clear. They cannot be. The supporting testimony is already contained in the Book of Revelations. More modern responses are sadly

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easy to find—the liberation of Dachau and the collapse of the Hungarian Revolution, for example. I cannot see how a misreading of the dialectic of the New Testament can bolster the opposite conclusion. Because Christ's Kingdom is not of this world, because He did not elect to lead a crusade for a messianic Jewish state, we cannot argue that there is no longer to be a world of Caesar and that this world is absolved from being ruled by justice.

Yet it is part of the dark tragedy of the human situation that once recourse is had to force in Caesar's world it is difficult if indeed not sometimes impossible to make it function within the context of justice. Thus the campaign against Hitler spilled over into the bombing of Dresden, the expulsion of the Sudeten Germans and by implication the rain of death on Hiroshima. Indeed the enslavement of East Europeans and the eradication of the Baltic States may well be still other consequences of forces set in motion and not restrained. There is no easy way out. One need not swallow the whole of Reinhold Niebuhr's favorite thesis in order to contend that while we cannot have rights without the use of force, it is in like manner tragically hard to employ force within the bounds of justice. But this is no excuse for failing to try.

Nor can anyone say that a situation which existed in Europe cannot exist in Southeast Asia. After all the reason why South Vietnam was established was to provide the persecuted with a place of refuge. And why should we ignore the fact that for years the major frustration of the International Control Commission was its inability to secure for those entitled to it by treaty the right to emigrate? How unrealistic it also seems to suppose that the frail structure of South Vietnamese society could immediately absorb so large an influx of aliens. No other state, including our own, has even done so easily in a short time.

Therefore it seems to me quite evident that so long as the purpose of armed intervention was to reckon with these facts and to attempt on the one hand to protect human rights while on the other hand assisting those protected to strengthen the frail structure of democratic government there was no reason why the Christian conscience should dissent. Indeed, I would contend that it should agree. But it is a different matter to keep the use of force for a good purpose within the framework of justice. Personally I have felt that since the bolstering of our venture into the Vietnamese world we have been in grave peril of losing the reins. Injustice may sound theoretical but the historian knows that it is the only abiding cause of war.

Today there are some, and often in high places, who talk as their predecessors did about Hiroshima and the bomb. Their contention is that world public opinion can safely be told to go to hell while we go "all out." Maybe so. But certainly if the Christian conscience in this country is alive at all it must say that bombing targets in North Vietnam is unjust, regardless of how beneficial or perilous they may be. If we do not speak now we shall confront the repetition of Dresden and Hiroshima. I think that all of us, regardless of how we may differ about the Vietnamese situation in its entirety,

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could agree on this point and make ourselves heard in some unison.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER

Los Angeles, Calif.

To the Editors: The full-page ads of the certainly well-meaning clergy in a dilemma over Vietnam recall to my mind a passage from G. K. Chesterton's "The Thing." Of course he was speaking of another subject, but he said:

". . . they exemplify a much wider question of this interminable way of talking. It consists of talking as if the moral problem of man were perfectly simple, as everyone knows it is not; and then depreciating attempts to solve it . . . In other words, it is exactly as if somebody were to say about the science of medicine: 'All I ask is Health'; what could be simpler than the beautiful gift of Health? Why not be content to enjoy for ever the glow of youth and fresh enjoyment of being fit? Why study dry and dismal sciences of anatomy and physiology; why inquire about the whereabouts of obscure organs of the human body? Why pedantically distinguish between what is labeled a poison and what is labeled an antidote, when it is so simple to enjoy Health? Why worry with minute exactitude about the number of drops of laudanum or the strength of a dose of chloral, when it is so nice to be healthy? . . ."

Well, as I say, of course he was talking about another subject but that's what they brought to my mind. At least they have the satisfaction of knowing that we all think Peace is wonderful, and that it would be simply wonderful to just have peace.

FRANK G. RIVERA

Sutton Coldfield, England

To the Editors: No doubt remains that bombing of a kind that must be called indiscriminate is going on in Vietnam, and I feel obliged to write this letter of solidarity and admiration for Christians in U.S.A. who are protesting.

Whenever this dreadful thing has unmistakably happened—Guernica, Hamburg and Dresden, Hiroshima and Nagasaki—I have tried to lift up a small voice of conscience against it, and now with sorrow have to do the same about Nam Dinh and Hanoi.

I am not a pacifist, just an ordinary believer in God. Starting a war can never make sense in the modern world, and even for defence the best way may often be non-violence. Moreover, from a purely military point of view, I do not believe that air bombing can ever end a war against a brave and determined enemy. Nuclear bombing could (if it did not end civilisation instead) but I will not believe that the U.S.A. could ever again contemplate such an act.

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